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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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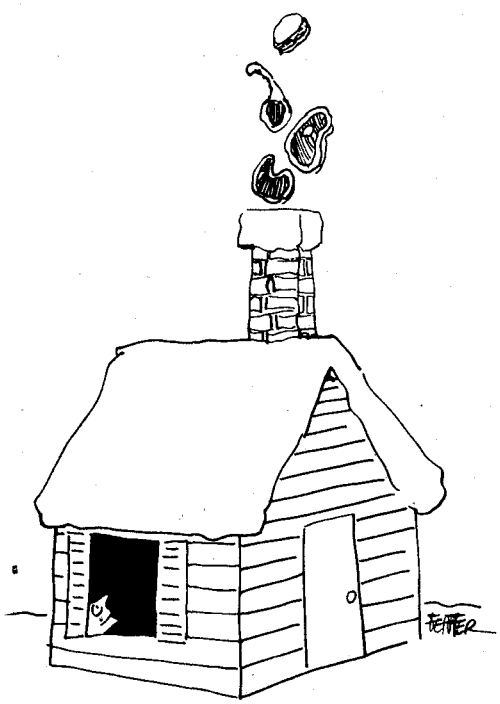

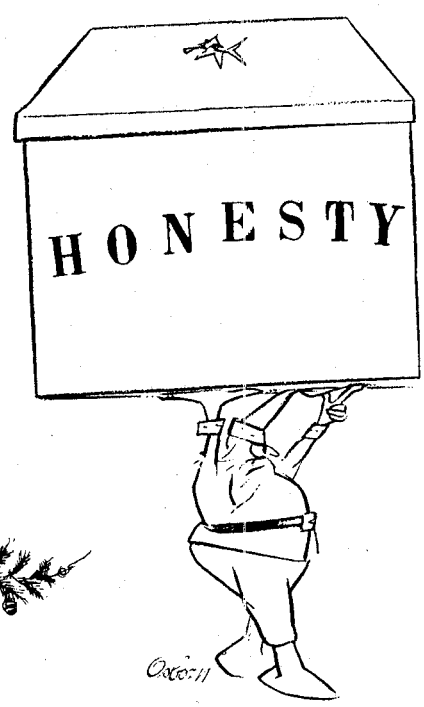

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TRB

from Washington
October 20, 1973

Debate over Détente

The new Era of Scarcity is coming faster than anybody thought, stimulated by the Arab-Israeli war. Your home and office may be five degrees cooler this winter because of the war, if the Arabs use their "oil weapon" which seems possible. Very likely the administration will be pushed toward rationing, which is a daunting thought when you think of how well they've handled other problems like inflation, the meat shortage and the Russian grain deal.

The Middle East war may have shattered possible détente with Russia at the very time it emphasizes the need for it. Moscow is delivering military supplies to the Arabs, and in turn the US may very likely be asked to do the same for the Israelis. This could escalate as passions rise and hates grow. The dwarves could pull the giants into war.

In this shrinking world where population has already outrun food and threatens to outrun basic raw materials, we do not have much time left. The US is well-heeled in many ways but quite vulnerable in others. We have six percent of the world population and use 33 percent of the energy. The oil shortage drives the point home; it was here before the Arab-Israeli war and now the war will accentuate it. But the problem comes clear when there's an oil shortage. The shortage seems a complete surprise to the President. At his press conference the other day he blandly warned the Arabs that "oil without a market doesn't do a country much good" and tut-tutted them with the overthrow of the late Mohammed Mossadegh, premier of Iran, in 1953 after he nationalized Western oil companies. The comment was about as inept as some of his comments about Watergate. Iran was then producing only about 300,000 barrels a day. The man we are worried about today is pivotal King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, whose hot desert sands produce 8.2 million barrels a day. We are pressuring him to boost this to 20 million. He is friendly, but he has signaled reluctance to expand production unless we reduce support for Israel. He has never spelled out his terms, but if the Middle East oil states cut back production as they did for three months in the 1967 war there probably will be a shortage.

Faisal, incidentally, is nobody to fool with: one informed official here says his oil royalties may amount to $15 billion next year. Try as he can, he can only spend about three billion dollars a year on internal improvements. In 10 years he will have $100 billion and may be the world's banker.

What superpower Russia will do in the Arab-Israeli war nobody knows. No one doubts it badly wants a détente with the United States. No one doubts it urgently wants American (and Western) technology, and will pay a price for it. No one doubts either that it has a nasty way with dissenters and is as far from democracy as many of the dictator states that are clients of the US.

Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger want to improve relations and increase trade with Russia, and this comes down to lowering tariffs to the level that we now charge "most favored nations." In Joe McCarthy's day it was the conservatives who fought closer commercial ties with Russia and the liberal intellectuals who favored it. Richard Nixon is always our favorite weathervane in things like this: 10 years ago when the USSR had a disastrous wheat harvest and wanted to buy grain our man Nixon (then a private citizen) denounced the notion as "subsidizing Khrushchev at a time when he is in deep economic trouble. It allows him to divert the Russian economy into space and into military activities that he otherwise would have to keep in agriculture."

There was a lot more beating the breast about it and it marked the difference between Nixon-out-of-office and Nixon-in-office. What is astonishing today is to see liberal I. F. Stone joining Senator Goldwater in the same theme, and John Paton Davies backing Senator Jackson against détente.

It is a genuine moral dilemma. The so-called "Jackson amendment" says no favored-nation clause for Russia until it liberalizes emigration for Jews. It tears liberals apart. Some want a tough line to Russia. Some, like the left-wing *Nation*, want détente: "As for Senator Henry Jackson, who aspires to the Presidency," the magazine asks, "does any informed person, whether in the Soviet Union or the United States, really believe that his heart bleeds for Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn? He wants an even bigger US arms program than President Nixon dares to sponsor . . ."

We think President Nixon was right and the anti-détente liberals were wrong on this one. (It's not easy to say it.) We don't think trade between nations is a good vehicle for trying to compel drastic internal reforms in one country by another. We have no illusions about freedom in Moscow but things are far better than they were under Stalin. We are glad Nixon went to Moscow and Brezhnev came to Washington. Better relations between nations often come at junctures when their material interests coincide, as they have recently, between the USA and USSR. We believe in expanding trade and also in giving every bit of moral support we can to the heroic Communist dissidents. Alas, Congress seems more likely than ever to shy away from closer trade ties because of the war which could now bring the two superpowers into actual confrontation.

The dawning Era of Scarcity isn't going to be confined to oil and energy. Of 13 basic industrial raw materials required by a modern economy, says Lester Brown in his *World Without Borders* (Random House; $8.95) the US in 1950 was import-dependent (*i.e.* imported over 50 percent) on only four substances: aluminum, manganese, nickel and tin. By 1970 zinc and chromium were added.

By 1985 we will have added iron, lead and tungsten. We will be buying half of these supplies on the world market in competition with industrial rivals. By 2000 we will be import-dependent on 12 of the 13 basic raw materials (adding copper, potassium and sulfur). Take heart, we'll still be in the clear on phosphate!

It all sounds fairly fantastic, of course, but maybe a little less so as we conserve oil this winter. As for food, the protein war between have and have-not countries is already beginning, population experts tell us. Mankind will surely find a path, but things will be different.

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A Stop to The Fighting

The renewed war in the Middle East is a catastrophe however one looks at it. Pressed by their extremists, the Arabs may be tempted to go beyond their announced intention to recover lost territory and press for a "final solution"—the annihilation of the Jewish state. The aroused Israelis are determined to "break the bones" of their enemies, as their chief of staff put it, which suggests that they will aim not only to decimate the attacking forces but take over additional chunks of Syrian and perhaps Egyptian territory as well. The longer the war goes on the harder it will be to end it on any terms other than mutual exhaustion and devastation, and that would not be an end but an interlude before the next round of killing. The most imperative task at the moment is to stop the fighting and move from the battlefield to the conference table.

We do not underestimate the enormous practical difficulties. The Arab states would have to finally accept the reality, the legitimacy, of the state of Israel. The Israelis would have to give up any thought they may have that this 25-year-long conflict can be "settled once and for all" by arms, or by an Israeli military occupation of neighboring countries. At some point along this bloody road there must be an armistice and thereafter negotiations—and the sooner the better. A prolonged war means more casualties, more refugees, more guerrilla terrorism, more bitterness. The underlying animosities will not have been extinguished; they will remain, smoldering. Moreover a prolonged war could reach beyond the Middle East, drawing toward its fiery center more distant powers, and in the process fray even further the fragile reconciliation that has been woven between Washington and Moscow. The self-interest of belligerent and nonbelligerent states dictates that the fighting be halted before it spreads further, and although talks may be impossible today, and interminable once they start, they must come.

The Nixon administration, weakened as it is by its own internal disorders, faces enormous problems as it tries to deal with this latest foreign crisis. It must strive to keep the explosion from shattering détente between the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time it must stand by Israel in its battle for survival, and it must do both without cutting itself off from those Arab states whose oil we want. In the short run the US may not be able to reconcile these

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divergent objectives. But their reconciliation must remain the longer-range imperative.

When the news of the Syrian and Egyptian attacks first broke, it seemed that the Soviet-American rapprochement would hold. Soviet Communist Party leader Brezhnev had advised President Nixon through normal diplomatic channels that he shared Washington's desire to limit the conflict. Brezhnev further displayed moderation in a statement made in Moscow. While expressing support for the Arabs, he appealed for "a fair and stable peace in the Middle East and guaranteed security for all countries and peoples of the area." The Russians withdrew their objection to a meeting of the UN Security Council, though their ambassador in Washington reportedly told Kissinger that the Soviet Union could not back a US resolution calling for a cease-fire and return to the 1967 line but would instead propose a cessation of hostilities "in place." The distinction was, of course, critical from the Israeli point of view, for "in place" at that moment meant leaving the Arabs in possession of territories they had gained by their initial thrust. The Russians privately indicated that their dispute with the Chinese, whose rhetoric was predictably tougher, prevented them from making larger concessions. Nixon matched Brezhnev's moderate tone with the promise that the US would not unilaterally make a "grandstand play" for peace. But at the very time these reassuring words were spoken the administration knew that wishing would not make it so. And thus Secretary Kissinger in an otherwise conciliatory speech on Monday evening warned that "détente cannot survive irresponsibility in any area, including the Middle East." That warning was designed to remind the Russians politely that Brezhnev and Nixon had pledged in Moscow in May 1972 to "do everything in their power so that conflicts or situations will not arise which would increase international tensions."

It quickly became plain that Brezhnev was not only failing to honor that pledge but was pouring fuel on the fire. First he instructed Soviet envoys in the Middle East to encourage Arab governments to aid the Egyptian and Syrian forces actively. Then last Thursday came the news that Soviet aircraft were flying military equipment, presumably surface-to-air missiles, into Cairo—something the Russians had not done during the darkest days of the 1967 war. Suddenly Kissinger's concept of a superpower understanding that would avert big power involvement in local conflicts was tottering.

COMING: a study of the Civil Service in New York and why it isn't civil and doesn't serve

One of Nixon's objectives in his 1972 election campaign was to induce large numbers of American Jews to desert their traditional allegiance to the Democratic Party. To that end his platform featured firm support for Israel. But late last month, while denying that he was being swayed by America's oil requirements, he took a more even-handed position in the Israeli-Arab dispute. "Both sides are at fault," he said. "Both sides need to start negotiations. That is our position. We are not pro-Israel and we are not pro-Arab . . . We are pro-peace."

His comment was meant to signal a new US initiative to explore peace possibilities, and Kissinger followed it up by meeting with Arab diplomats in New York on September 25. The secretary of State had no blueprint for a settlement and candidly told the Arabs not to expect the US "to bring forth miracles." But the Arabs apparently discounted his denial. One theory has it that Egypt and Syria triggered the war in anticipation of a nonexistent Kissinger peace proposal, in order to strengthen the Arab negotiating position. Once the conflict broke out the administration supported Israel indirectly by proposing that both sides withdraw to their prewar postures. The White House also moved to head off stronger pro-Israel pleas in the Congress by inspiring a Senate resolution supporting its stand.

By the middle of the week, however, there was no need for senators like Henry Jackson to push for aid to Israel. Confronted by the challenge of Soviet equipment going into Egypt, the movement of Soviet naval forces into the Mediterranean and the possibility of additional Arab recruits to the war against Israel, the administration had no choice. At this writing it appears that the President will authorize accelerated deliveries of F-4 Phantom jet fighters, which Israel has been losing at a lethal rate to Soviet-built antiaircraft missiles deployed by Egypt and Syria. According to unconfirmed reports the Israelis have already been picking up Sparrow and Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and other materiel at the Ocean Naval Air Station in Virginia. These developments, promising as they do spiraling military aid by the US and the Soviet Union to their respective Middle East friends, are sure to deal a blow to détente. There is every chance now for example that the Congress will reject trade concessions for the Soviet Union.

The worsening of US-Soviet relations is not the only potential casualty of this war. Oil is another element in the picture. Until a month ago Nixon seemed to be unaware of the power of the Arab oil producers. Speaking at a press conference on September 5 he warned the Arabs against trying to turn petroleum

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into a political weapon, saying that they might lose their US market unless they behaved properly. Nixon also recalled the fate of Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh who was overthrown by Central Intelligency Agency operatives in 1953 after he had nationalized foreign oil companies. In addition he obliquely called on Saudi Arabia to exercise prudence by emphasizing its good relations with the US. But all these references showed the extent to which the President was out of date. The Arabs no longer rely exclusively on American markets but are currently expanding their sales of oil to Japan and the nations of Western Europe. Equally obsolete was his hint that uncooperative Middle East leaders might, as Mossadegh was, be ousted in a CIA-sponsored coup. Moreover Nixon overlooked one of the most significant changes that has taken place in the Middle East recently: conservative regimes like that of Saudi Arabia have become active in the Arab dispute with Israel in order to undercut radical forces in the region, and with King Faisal in the lead they are now openly wielding oil as a bludgeon. Faisal has been exhorting Jordanian King Hussein to join in the fight against Israel. This takes on new reality when linked to reports that heating fuel and propane gas may be rationed in the US this winter.

At stake in the Middle East, then, are the future of Soviet-American détente, the survival of Israel and US relations with the Arab states. All are critically threatened by a conflict that combines the most primitive aspects of tribal warfare and big power rivalry. The tangle cannot be unraveled overnight. But the war can be halted.

And Now What?

The investigation, sentencing and resignation of the Vice President mark an upward turn from the moral decline that has characterized national politics and government during the past year. The Department of Justice, which has been maneuvered by the Nixon White House into virtual public disgrace, showed in the Agnew investigation that it had learned its Watergate lesson. The press, which fumbled in its early Watergate reporting, more than made up for it by tenaciously following the Agnew story.

But what have the President and the Congress learned from these events? We are about to find out. Neither Watergate nor Mr. Agnew's extracurricular activities were, we trust, the rule in politics. Both were audacious, extraordinary misuses of public trust—one for political gain, the other for personal enrichment—and Richard Nixon bears a direct responsibility for both. His aides and his reelection committee authorized the commission of crimes during the 1972 campaign and directed the widespread obstruction of justice that followed those crimes. Mr. Nixon alone picked Agnew from relative obscurity and twice put him in the nation's second highest office. Now the President's choice of a successor will show us how fully he appreciates the country's disgust with the corruption and executive arrogance of the past.

The right choice could help restore a workable relationship between the President and Congress, and the country could look forward to being governed for the next three years, instead of being pulled apart. The right Vice President will understand and respect our unique system of governmental checks and balances and the legitimate function of a critical press. It hardly needs to be added that his integrity must be transparent, for the character of those chosen for highest office is read not only at home but abroad as a reflection of the character of the nation.

A John Connally, mired in oil and seen as a political wheeler-dealer and advocate of the concept that a President can ignore a Supreme Court order, does not fit that bill. Nor does such an amiable man as former Secretary of State William Rogers, whose principal virtue in this instance is the assurance he would give Republicans and Democrats alike that he had no designs on the 1976 nomination. It's an obvious but often overlooked point that Mr. Nixon's choice could become President—not only through an act of God, but also by way of impeachment of the incumbent. The nominee must be presidential, not caretaker, material. Congressional Democrats should use what amounts to their veto power to press for a strong, not a weak man. The suggestion by some, including Senator Humphrey, that the nominee pledge not to run in 1976 is partisanship at its pettiest and is the sort of nickel-and-dimes politics the country has had enough of. Democrats should use the forthcoming confirmation hearings in both houses as an occasion for a disinterested probe of the background and qualifications of the nominee, as well as his ideology. This is no hour to strike cheap bargains but to think of what the country needs—a return to honest, open, effective leadership.

Two potential Democratic presidential candidates, Senators Kennedy and Mondale, have taken the sensible line. They want a strong, qualified man now, and they are willing to take their political chances with him later. That should be the Democratic position. If the Democrats block an obviously able nominee solely on the ground he might run on his own in 1976, and run well, they would justifiably be open to charges of playing Russian roulette with the country.

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Blackmail by Oil

Libya's Kaddafi and Saudi Arabia's Faisal have warned the United States that it cannot be assured of obtaining uninterrupted supplies of Arab oil unless it modifies its pro-Israeli foreign policy. Because of our growing reliance on Arab oil, many American foreign policy experts believe that this Arab threat is credible. They suggest that the goal of "improving US oil security" justifies revising our Middle East policy to give more positive support to Arab interests. This argument rests implicitly on two assumptions: first that the Arab states have both the power and the will to take unilateral action to deny the US oil imports; secondly that a reduction in the level of current US economic, political and strategic commitments to Israel would reduce the likelihood of an interruption in oil supplies. Before examining the truth of these two key assumptions it is useful to discuss the nature of the threat.

Rapidly growing dependence on petroleum imports does indeed threaten our national security. The United States already imports more than 30 percent of its oil; most forecasts predict that imports will have to supply 50 to 60 percent of our much higher 1980 crude oil demands. The US has now run out of readily available spare energy capacity, and even if there were a crash program it would take more than a year before large new supplies from any domestic source could be commercially developed. This means that a sudden cut-off of oil imports would disrupt our economy severely. Recent actions by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raise the likelihood of such an occurrence.

OPEC is a cartel composed of all large oil exporting countries except Canada. Upon its formation in 1960 OPEC's announced purpose was to prevent further falls in the world price of oil by restricting its members' oil outputs. Throughout the '60s the cartel failed to achieve its goal; the world price of oil continued to drop. The Teheran Conference in January 1971 was a turning point for OPEC. Since that time it has grown progressively stronger. After threatening to cut off shipments to oil-consuming nations OPEC succeeded in negotiating a 50-cent-per-barrel price rise. In return OPEC agreed to guarantee stable and predictable oil prices for five years. This guarantee remained in force for about four months. By now the threat of an oil embargo followed shortly by oil consumers capitulating and agreeing to pay higher prices has become a familiar scenario. As a result OPEC has become one of the most successful cartels in history and we may anticipate a further sharp boost in oil prices to come out of the current OPEC meeting in Vienna. Oil expert M. A. Adelman calculates that its members collected $15 billion in monopoly profits during 1972; and if current trends continue, their annual profits could exceed $80 billion before 1980.

The OPEC nations have reaped tremendous economic and political gains as a consequence of their recent threats to embargo all oil sales. They have shown they can virtually dictate to the wealthy Western oil-consuming nations—many of whom were once their colonialist "oppressors"—the terms at which they are willing to sell. These past successes make future threats inevitable. This poses a distasteful dilemma for the oil-consuming countries: if they succumb to threats of embargo they face ever-rising energy prices and, because the OPEC countries will grow even more powerful, further erosion of their oil security. If they resist these threats they face a lengthy and extremely costly oil embargo. The leading OPEC nations have huge and ever-growing reserves of foreign exchange. They believe, correctly, that they are far better prepared to bear the cost of a lengthy OPEC-wide embargo than are their heavily industrialized but oil-short customers. Moreover an embargo would be necessary, so it would be said, only because the large oil-consuming nations had refused to pay a "fair" price for crude oil.

OPEC has already had great success in advancing its members' economic interests by threatening boycott. Can its Arab members, who account for roughly 55 percent of OPEC's sales, hope to achieve similar success in the political arena by adopting a similar strategy? Just last week Iraq, having nationalized US company interests (Exxon and Mobil) in the Basra Oil Company, called on Saudi Arabia to stop sending oil to countries that support Israel.

Suppose all of the Arab oil producers agree that they want to punish the US for its pro-Israel position? How might they proceed? The most obvious strategy—a selective boycott prohibiting all sales of Arab oil to the US—cannot work. Some non-Arab OPEC oil that would otherwise be consigned to Western European or Japanese ports would simply be diverted to the US and it would be replaced by Arab oil formerly shipped here. Unless OPEC's Arab members were willing to take the far stronger measure of reducing their total worldwide sales, neither the US nor other oil importers would suffer significant ill effects. But for reasons discussed below the US would not be the major victim of such a general Arab embargo. Hence pique over US foreign policy seems unlikely to provoke such a Carthaginian response.

Western Europe and Japan are far more dependent than the United States on imports of OPEC oil. Thus these nations would suffer the severest shortages and pay the highest price for an embargo of Arab sales. Faced with this fact even the most pro-Arab of these countries would not be placated by pious disclaimers that a pro-Israeli US foreign policy entailed imposition of a general embargo.

The Arab states would also be large losers from a politically motivated embargo, for they would give up high-profit oil sales. Moreover these losses would

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begin to grow rapidly within just a few months, because OPEC's non-Arab members (*e.g.*, Iran, Nigeria, Venezuela) would expand production from known oil reserves in order to gain the huge additional profits awaiting those who make larger sales during a period of high oil prices. Conservative Arab regimes in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, for example, may want to punish the US but it seems implausible that they would choose to do so for very long. A corollary of such a spiteful policy would be that their non-Arab OPEC competitors—especially the Persian Gulf military power Iran—would reap additional billions of monopoly profits. In sum it seems to me unlikely that distaste for our Middle East policy would lead to a general embargo of Arab oil sales: both because the US would not be the principal victim and because non-Arab OPEC members would be the principal beneficiaries.

Suppose the above analysis is wrong, and that the Arab states may become so enraged by US policy that they will ignore economic self-interest and embargo oil sales. Could the US reduce the threat by modifying foreign policies that are considered objectionable by the Arabs?

Presumably the US would alter its present Middle East foreign policy only under great duress. Hence both our allies and adversaries would regard any alteration as positive affirmation of OPEC's enormous monopoly control over world oil supplies. A further rise in OPEC's bargaining power *vis à vis* oil consumers would certainly be one consequence of a significant Mideast policy shift. In addition to creating a climate even more favorable to additional OPEC-initiated crude oil price rises, this might also encourage non-Arab OPEC members to issue similar threats aimed at achieving their political goals in other parts of the world.

On balance the gain from reduced Arab hostility because of modifications in our policy seems likely to be more than offset by the enhanced bargaining power that would accrue to the chief danger to US oil supplies—the OPEC. Through their monopoly control of most non-Communist reserves of low-cost crude oil the OPEC countries (when acting in unison) possess the economic and political clout of a major world power, and it is no exaggeration to say that they have won this high status by blackmailing the oil-short but industrialized Western nations. Past success with blackmail virtually guarantees future repetitions. For these reasons the US government is justified in adopting policies designed to reduce the OPEC threat. But modifying our present commitment to Israel is not likely to have this effect.

Richard B. Mancke

Mr. Mancke *teaches law and economics at the University of Michigan and was a staff economist for the Cabinet task force on oil in 1969-1970.*

The Right to Leave

It is a widely accepted principle of international law—widely violated—that all people should be free to move without impediment not just inside their home country, but abroad. The plight of Russian Jews is currently the best known, but only one of the many cases in which a government has tried to discourage emigration and foreign travel. Most nations, including Israel, impose some sort of exit fee; the United States until recently forbade Americans to go to Cuba, China and North Vietnam; and some African countries will not allow students to go abroad unless they can show they will learn new skills and bring them home.

In international law the foundation of the right to travel is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. Article 13 of the Declaration states: "1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. 2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." Article 14 promises special consideration for refugees: "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution." These articles have been endorsed by the Soviet Union, by the United States and other countries, but they are observed only in traditional "democratic" nations or when political pressure is running strong in their favor. Even in countries with permissive travel laws the right to emigrate is tenuous, and any government that wants to stop a citizen from going abroad has little trouble finding a legal justification.

An excellent study made 10 years ago by the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities found that of 90 countries surveyed only 24 recognized in their laws the right to leave and return; 12 others recognized it by judicial interpretation. The rest were silent on the subject. The author of the UN report, José Ingles, catalogued the direct and indirect ways countries interfere with free travel. Almost every country permits itself discretion to suspend passports when "national security" is at stake and national security is rarely defined. Governments are prone to hold up emigrants for reasons of "public health and morals," "best interests of the state" or for the preservation of "public order." A few countries prohibit departure of skilled professionals on similar grounds; some deny married women the right to go abroad without the husband's permission; others require departing citizens to renounce their nationality. Ingles writes, "By far the most arbitrary restriction of the right of a national to leave his country on the vague ground of national interest is the requirement that he must have a good reason for his journey before a passport is issued to him." As indirect obstacles to travel, Ingles reported widespread use of economic sanctions, the imposition of exit fees, passport

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and visa charges, taxes on foreign travel and the demand that money be left on deposit with the government as a promise of return. Many governments have complex, tedious requirements for obtaining travel papers, or none at all, with correspondingly severe penalities for leaving the country undocumented. Ingles observes that "the absence of a well defined procedure for obtaining a passport works as effectively as an unusually complicated procedure to prevent a national from leaving his country." He concluded that the world would be better if there were no passports or visas: "Greater numbers of people are effectively confined behind their national boundaries today than in previous periods of history. Whereas governments once erected walls to keep foreigners from entering a country, today walls are built—both figuratively and literally—to keep nationals hemmed in."

Since 1963 when Ingles presented his paper to the UN little has been done to eliminate constraints on free travel or to discuss his proposals seriously. The UN in 1966 graciously reaffirmed the old guarantees of 1948 in a "Covenant on Civilian and Political Rights," but did nothing original in the area of travel. A conference on the "Right to Leave and the Right to Return" in Uppsala, Sweden in 1972 proposed an updated set of international rights based on Ingles' ideas, but as an introduction to that conference points out, those ideas remained on the agenda at the UN "year after year and were postponed repeatedly on the pretext that time did not permit their consideration." Among other changes, the Uppsala group recommended that emigrants be guaranteed the right to take household effects and professional tools with them; it would prohibit exit fees and do away with all barriers to free travel except "reasonable limitations as are necessary to prevent a clear and present danger to the national security or public order . . . and only if such limitations are provided for by law, are clear and specific. . . ." Without UN approval, however, these resolutions have had little significance.

Meeting this spring the UN Human Rights Commission voted to drop from its agenda the subject of freedom to travel, despite the fact that this was one of the most controversial topics of the day. In a recent paper on that meeting, Sidney Liskofsky, an official of the American Jewish Committee, writes that "The majority of the Human Rights Commission was virtually unmoved by the letter and spirit of the Ingles draft principles or the Uppsala Declaration modeled on them, or the exhortations of nongovernmental organizations." Liskofsky says the pressure to drop the subject came from two directions. Countries allied with the Soviet Union argued emigration is a purely internal matter, not debatable at the UN, and certain undeveloped countries, most of them African, fear that their best educated, ablest citizens would leave home in search of better pay if there were no travel restrictions.

Eliot Marshall

Carnegie's Report On Higher Education

When Ronald Reagan managed in 1967 to get Clark Kerr fired as president of the University of California, Kerr was appointed chairman of a newly conceived national commission to study the future of American colleges and universities. Over the next six years—from Kerr's appointment until a final report was issued earlier this month—the periodic studies and pronouncements of this study group, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (the commission's six million dollar cost was borne by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Carnegie Corporation of New York), have figured heavily in the debate over the internal policies of universities and the social policies related to higher education. During its lifetime the commission issued 22 reports backed up by 82 other research documents—enough to fill a couple of good-sized library shelves. Its membership included David Riesman, Kenneth Keniston, Carl Kaysen, the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, Nathan Pusey, James Perkins, David Henry, William Friday and Joseph Cosand as well as Patricia Roberts Harris and William Scranton.

The commission has witnessed some substantial shifts in its own and the public's concerns. Columbia and Mark Rudd, Cornell and the black students, Kent State and the Cambodia protests, all appeared and disappeared from the newspapers. Beneath those dramatic events, however, several other significant shocks were beginning to run through the colleges and universities. The commission's final report, while generally optimistic about higher education's long-term prospects, identifies and comments on most of these new issues and problems.

►*The financial depression and the enrollment surprise.* The post-World-War-II "golden age" for higher education, when research money was easy and enrollments were zooming, has come to an abrupt halt. The steady growth of state and federal funding is slowing down, especially for the prestigious research institutions. At the same time inflation is pushing costs up, although the austerity programs installed in most institutions have limited the increases somewhat. Students are being asked to take up some of the slack through higher tuition, resulting in the gradual erosion of the long-standing low-tuition policies of state institutions and in a situation where some private institutions are virtually out of the reach of middle-class students.

In the last few months the campuses have been hit with yet another piece of bad news. Enrollments, which more than doubled during the 1960s, are leveling off. Private institutions have been contending with this for the last two or three years and some have even turned to a new breed of consultants who specialize in

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helping track down students to fill freshman classes. Now enrollments are leveling even in the once expansive public institutions: two-fifths of the big state universities had enrollment drops last fall and several others leveled off. Because state funding formulas are often tied to enrollments, this development tightens the screw. Furthermore Carnegie Commission studies predict that enrollments on established campuses will drop generally in the 1980s, followed by a modest upturn only in the 1990s.

Its approach to these problems is for colleges and universities to continue cost-cutting, simultaneously developing new student markets, particularly among adults and part-time students. The commission's goal is to hold the national bill for higher education to 2.4 percent of the Gross National Product by 1980, compared with 3.0 percent that would occur if the growth in expenditures climbed at the rate of the 1960s. Getting by on any less, however, could undercut institutional quality and damage the nation's research.

►*University autonomy.* The state universities have always claimed the right to a certain amount of independence from state governments, not only to protect the academic freedom of professors but also—in the view of some politicians—out of an arrogant belief that the universities themselves know best what their state should have in the way of higher education. That claim is being challenged now by governors and legislators. Most states have set up statewide "coordinating boards" to control the sometimes wild status competition among institutions that characterized the 1960s, particularly in the area of high-cost Ph D programs. Some states—Wisconsin and North Carolina for instance—have brought all public four-year and graduate institutions under a single "superboard" in the interest of efficiency and better planning. University budgets are being scrutinized by state budget officers with new vigor. Lots of forces are at work here besides the usual distrust between politicians and educators: for instance the collision between the steady and expensive demands of higher education and other social priorities such as welfare and ecology. Then, too, higher education's credibility has been damaged, first by student unrest and later by the difficulty many college graduates, particularly those with liberal arts degrees, are having getting decent jobs. The universities are chafing under these pressures and fear further political meddling in their internal affairs. The Carnegie Commission suggests a compromise in which the universities probably would have to submit to stricter policy direction from the states, with the politicians and bureaucrats agreeing to stay out of the details of administration and academic affairs.

►*Tuition and student aid.* The commission wants tuition fees at public institutions raised gradually but substantially to close the gap between their rates and those in the private sector, a policy the commission thinks would help the privates survive in the scramble for students. This increase would be tied to federal and state student-aid policies that would provide loans for students from middle-class families and scholarships for the poor. The public institutions are angry about this proposal, arguing that loans and scholarships will never keep up with the tuition hikes. The Committee for Economic Development, composed mainly of businessmen, heated this issue up further last month by coming out for an even steeper tuition increase in the public sector. The Carnegie panel prefers giving student-aid funds directly to students rather than to institutions for them to hand out. One hope is that this would give students freer choice in where they go to school. It is the same concept incorporated in last year's Basic Opportunity Grants program that Congress passed as part of a revised higher education law. The program's main shortcoming is that it is woefully underfunded, the commission says.

►*"Affirmative action" for women and minorities vs. the leveling of enrollments.* Leveling enrollments in the 1970s and declines in the 1980s mean there will be little demand during those years for more teachers. The fact that the universities filled their faculties with lots of young, white males during the boom of the 1960s combines with tenure policies to reduce the demand for replacements. At the same time, women and minorities who respectively have only 22.5 percent and 5.3 percent of the faculty jobs are pressing for a bigger share. The aspirations of women and minorities and the slowdown in faculty hiring create considerable potential for conflict and disappointment. The commission rejects quota hiring as a way of making up for the underrepresentation and prefers instead a policy of gradually giving more of the faculty jobs to these groups as they emerge in larger numbers from graduate schools. Fair representation will be a slow process, the commission says, and may even not be reached by the year 2000.

►*The decline of academic standards.* Open admissions, more women and blacks on faculties, the abolition of grades, the introduction of "free-choice" curricula and the decline of "general education," the rising popularity of vocationally oriented community colleges—all these trends have set off a serious subliminal debate about the possibility that the American academy is in for an intellectual decline. The Carnegie panel tries to steer a middle-course between the egalitarians and the elitists. It says, for instance, that there should be special admission programs and remedial offerings for the disadvantaged but that universities should be careful that these students meet full standards by the time they graduate.

►*Collective bargaining.* The power of faculties has decreased some in the last few years and now their economic position is threatened as well, so more and more professors are thinking seriously about collective bar-

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gaining. Half of all professors say they favor it, and the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association and the American Association of University Professors are out to organize them. At the moment about 15 percent of the professoriate is organized, mostly in the community colleges. One of the big worries among some faculty members is that bargaining will introduce conflict and rigidity into the academy that will not be worth its possible economic benefits. The commission says state laws should allow bargaining for any faculty that wants it, but it also says professors should carefully weigh its advantages and disadvantages before voting for it. It may not offer much for some kinds of institutions, the commission says, particularly the big research universities.

Larry Van Dyne

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Rethinking US Commitments

Troops Overseas

The United States has 500,000 servicemen stationed on foreign soil and another 100,000 assigned to fleets overseas; 360,000 dependents accompany them. More than 2000 American bases dot the globe, and every continent, including Antarctica, is covered. To support this widespread network some 200,000 foreign citizens are employed. The annual cost is estimated at $30 billion.

The largest US commitment is to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Some 300,000 American troops are based in Europe, about two-thirds of them in the "American zone of occupation" in Southern Germany. If blocking the most likely Soviet invasion route were their principal purpose, they would be better situated across the northern plains of Germany. Instead for the most part they are tucked away in the mountains of Bavaria. That's because they are a tripwire rather than a barrier and a psychological deterrent more than a physical impediment to the Russians.

US nuclear power has been, and remains, the key military deterrent to a Soviet invasion. The submarines, missiles and bombers of our strategic forces carry 6000 nuclear weapons, and there are also 7000 "tactical" nuclear weapons under US control in Europe. In terms of conventional power, the four and one-third US army divisions are a poor match for the 31 Soviet divisions in Eastern Europe. In addition to being outnumbered American troops are inadequately prepared. It is not uncommon, for example, for an infantry company to experience an almost complete personnel turnover in a year. Asked in January 1972 about the readiness of the third armored division in Frankfurt, the commander, Major General William Kraft, remarked: "If you take 75 as a passing score, of 23 battalions in the division, 5 or 6 are above passing. The rest would be below 75 in various degrees; none would be real low."

If US forces on the East-West frontier were the key to European defense, the general's statistics would have prompted major congressional investigations, but his numbers simply confirmed a widely held impression. With 134 admirals and generals assigned to NATO and four or five technicians and paper-shufflers for each combat soldier, the purpose of our European garrison is not to fight so much as to symbolize the American commitment to NATO: a commitment only as good as our willingness to back it up with nuclear weapons. The purpose is also to provide a "good post" for many officers and higher-grade enlisted men.

In June Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger spoke to the NATO defense ministers about the need for a "stalwart" conventional defense. The European reaction was summed up by Britain's Lord Chalfont. Writing in the *Times* of London, the bemused former minister of state said, "the Pentagon still believes that the alliance is strong enough to defend itself against an attack in Europe without recourse to nuclear weapons. . . . If anything more was needed to concentrate the minds of West European statesmen on the need for a fundamental reassessment of their foreign and defense policies, this surely was it."

The size of the American garrison now is 307,000, but it has been as high as 463,000 (1962) and as low as 296,000 (1969). President Nixon argues that he needs to maintain the present level as a "bargaining chip" to win reciprocal Soviet force reductions in Central Europe. That has been a White House argument for many years, but the chip has never been cashed, partly because the Russians have not been eager to risk a diminished Soviet military presence in Eastern Europe. In 1971 Senate Majority Leader Mansfield's proposal to cut our European garrison in half was defeated, 36 to 61. This year Mansfield took a different approach, offering an amendment to the military research and procurement bill to reduce by 40 percent the number of overseas troops *worldwide* over a three-year period. Although that could be carried out without a single soldier being withdrawn from Europe, it was still too big a cut for most of the Senate. It approved the amendment in the morning, but after some heavy Pentagon lobbying (including phone calls from the NATO commander, General Andrew Goodpaster), voted it down in the afternoon, 47 to 51.

The Senate did, however, take two smaller steps. The first was its endorsement of an amendment introduced by Senators Jackson (D, Wash.) and Nunn (D, Ga.) to encourage "a more equitable sharing of the costs and expenses arising from commitments and obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty." The com-

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bined defense budgets (1972) of NATO Europe were $33 billion, whereas the Pentagon's budget was $79 billion. The West Europeans spend 4.2 percent of their gross national product on defense; the American percentage is 7.5. The direct cost of the American garrison in Europe is about $4 billion, and while our NATO allies have offset some of these costs through purchases of American weapons, the net balance-of-payments deficit for 1972 was $1.7 billion. The Jackson-Nunn amendment stipulates that the United States will withdraw a percentage of its forces equal to the percentage of the balance of payments not offset by our NATO allies. For example if only 60 percent of the deficit were offset, 40 percent of the US garrison would be withdrawn.

The amendment makes little military or monetary sense. If the present level of US troops in Europe is necessary to keep the peace, then the United States ought to be prepared to bear the costs irrespective of equity; forces that are superfluous to military needs should be withdrawn. From a fiscal point of view, withdrawing, say, 40 percent of the American forces would generate a *fixed* balance-of-payments gain considerably less than 40 percent of the deficit. Moreover if the forces withdrawn were not deactivated, there would be no real savings. Transferring troops from Europe to new US bases and maintaining them on active duty would cost more, though it would help the balance of payments situation.

Yet the Jackson-Nunn amendment, which passed by 84 to 5, does express, as Mansfield put it, "a sentiment of dissatisfaction with the status quo in Europe." For some that dissatisfaction is rooted in the size of the American garrison 28 years after World War II. For others it is based on Western Europe's declining contribution to the common defense (down 20 percent in relation to GNP since 1965).

Of greater significance was Senator Humphrey's move, approved 48 to 36, to cut 110,000 overseas troops by the end of 1975. The House has voted no similar cut, so the matter will not have to be resolved by a House-Senate conference committee. Because the Humphrey amendment does not specify where the cuts should be made, the entire reduction could be made in Asia; President Nixon's "sensitive negotiations" on mutual troop withdrawals from Central Europe would not be affected. We can expect to hear from the White House or Mr. Kissinger, however, that any such unilateral cut in Asia will deny the US a valuable "bargaining chip" in discussions with Peking.

When four American divisions were assigned to NATO in 1951 Secretary of State George Marshall stated there was nothing magical about the number; the decision was based on military requirements. In 1963 General Eisenhower suggested that one US division in Europe backed by US nuclear power would be sufficient to prove our commitment. In other areas, such as Japan and the Western Pacific where 164,000 Americans are now stationed, raising the number deployed would no more prove our commitment than a modest reduction would disprove it. The Pentagon, however, resists troop cuts for the same reason any bureaucracy resists retrenchment. The executive obsession with "bargaining chips" similarly militates against any significant cuts. And although Congress is empowered by the Constitution to "raise and support armies," the Senate's passage of the Humphrey amendment showed only that that power has not been unconditionally surrendered.

Peter J. Ognibene

Unwanted, Unneeded

Project Sanguine

The navy is still seeking a home for its mammoth underground transmitting antenna complex called *Project Sanguine*. Evicted from Wisconsin because of fears that the 1300 square mile excavation would seriously affect the ecology of the region and interfere with conveniences such as telephone lines, TV reception and livestock fencing (see "Wiring Wisconsin," *TNR*, March 22, 1969) the project has migrated to east central Texas where the navy hopes to find the natives more friendly. But the announcement of the formation of the "Texas State Committee to Stop Sanguine" may be an indication that Texans also worry about tearing up their countryside – and about becoming prime targets for a nuclear attack in the event of all-out war. The latter fear stems from the purpose of Sanguine: to provide a highly "survivable" means of communicating emergency orders to our missile-firing Polaris and Poseidon nuclear-powered submarines.

The project has been the subject of attack by some scientists who question its technical feasibility. To put a stop to these criticisms the navy asked the National Academy of Sciences to study the question, and in its report, released in 1972, the NAS panel concluded "that the *Sanguine* system contemplated by the navy would work substantially as they anticipate." This conclusion was not unqualified, however. One member of the NAS panel filed a dissent, doubting "the adequacy of the studies thus far made regarding the feasibility of the *Sanguine* antenna. . . ." Moreover, the panel majority recommended that three additional major studies be performed by the navy. Only after considerable urging has the navy agreed to conduct tests on the radiative effectiveness of long underground antennas – corresponding to the actual system to be deployed. All navy claims for the system to date have been based on tests on above-ground antennas.

Further questions regarding the technical feasibility

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of *Sanguine* were raised in a recent exchange in *Science* (organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science), especially with regard to its vulnerability to "jamming" (*i.e.*, use of electromagnetic interference at the *Sanguine* transmission frequency, to render the transmitted message unintelligible).

Although concern has been shown over negative aspects of *Sanguine*, such as the resultant ecological damage and electrical interference due to the large antenna currents, little public criticism has been directed at the navy's rationale for the *necessity* of this particular type of strategic communications system or to its *vulnerability* in the event of a nuclear war. With the navy moving this year into the "concept validation" phase of the program, and with "full-scale development" scheduled to begin in fiscal year 1975, taxpayers face the likelihood of footing the bill for the construction of a vast billion-dollar grid in the Texas hinterland that is both vulnerable and unnecessary. The Senate Appropriations subcommittee on defense is not considering the Pentagon's fiscal 1974 appropriations, which include a proposed $16.7 million in concept validation money for *Sanguine*. Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen on September 12 asked the subcommittee to restrain the navy from building *Sanguine* in his state, citing fears Texans have over the environmental and economic costs of the project. Bentsen hopes *Sanguine* will go back to Wisconsin—the navy's first choice.

As currently planned the *Sanguine* system will operate at extremely low frequencies (ELF) very near the 60-cycle frequency of commercial powerlines on city streets. Because of this low frequency it will be able, it is claimed, to transmit messages over great distances and to penetrate seawater, thus enabling the navy to communicate with its submarines while they are submerged. Two obvious limitations of the system are that the submarines being contacted cannot reply in the same manner, and that the system, for basic technical reasons, can transmit only very simple messages. Indeed the navy has admitted that the most probable use of *Sanguine* would be as a way of telling a submarine to listen to one of its other communications networks for more detailed information.

Structurally the *Sanguine* antenna would resemble a grid. But what a grid! The system as envisioned would cover 1300 square miles in five Texas counties (centered in Llano County) in the shape of an ellipse of 35 to 40 miles. The grid would be buried (the exact depth appears to be classified, but six feet is probably a good estimate), so would the required high power transmitters that "feed" the antenna grid. The transmitters would be "hardened" to protect them from nuclear blasts.

Is *Sanguine* necessary? The navy says that it is the most survivable and most effective way to communicate, even during a nuclear attack, over long distances to submerged submarines. Two currently deployed communications systems that provide shore-to-ship communication with submarines are the fixed (*i.e.*, land-based) and airborne very low frequency (VLF) systems. The former has been described by navy spokesmen as constituting a "highly reliable fixed VLF network which is our primary communications today" and, further, as "a highly reliable network in a peacetime situation." Even more reliable is the advanced airborne VLF force now being deployed. Designated TACAMO IV, this system consists of C-130 type aircraft fitted with VLF transmitters. The VLF radio waves used both by the US and the USSR can penetrate seawater down to a depth of 50 feet. The submarine can therefore remain submerged and trail its antenna, at several hundred feet above its deck, so that it can receive the VLF messages. Not only does this make it "very difficult for us to detect it [the submerged submarine]," as was admitted by navy spokesmen before the Senate committee, but the TACAMO air system is rendered practically invulnerable by keeping part of it airborne at all times and by using randomly chosen airfields to keep an adversary unsure of its position.

The need for *Sanguine* is put in further doubt by the proposed deployment of longer range submarine missiles. The primary rationale given for these expensive vessels is that their long-range missiles would make it possible (unlike the present Polaris) to keep them very close to the continental United States. If so they would be well within VLF range, with no need for *Sanguine*.

Faced with the admitted redundancy of two communications networks, either of which is apparently adequate for the communications needs of missile submarines during peacetime—and one of which appears adequate for wartime needs—the navy has found it difficult to base its case for *Sanguine* on any proven deficiency in the existing systems. Instead, it resorts to the unknown. Thus the following rather painful colloquy between Admiral Healey and the Senate committee counsel:

> *Mr. Fine.* In your opinion, are all emergency shore-to-ship communications systems other than *Sanguine* inadequate to meet communications requirements in the event of emergency?
> *Admiral Healey.* They could be inadequate.
> *Mr. Fine.* Can you elaborate on that? Under what circumstances?
> *Admiral Healey.* Let's say they could be inadequate (deleted).

Only with obvious reluctance does the navy mention the possible efficacy of the satellite communications efforts of the air force.

Are there meaningful alternatives to *Sanguine* for use in the event of an emergency? Sixteen different alternatives were considered separately by the navy

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and were rejected. The most effective combination, it appears to us, would be a mix of land-based VLF transmitters and a larger force of the TACAMO aircraft kept airborne. This differs only in quantity from the VLF systems already in existence. Qualitative improvements could be obtained through procurement of aircraft with improved transmitters and longer endurance than the C-130s. For the long term, satellite transmitters appear very promising as a means of communicating with submerged submarines.

In the event of a nuclear war, it would be an adversary's highest priority to prevent a Polaris/Poseidon missile strike by the US. *Sanguine*, as the means for ordering such a strike, would become a prime enemy target. The USSR, for example, would use its sea-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), since they have the shortest time to target. The US would, conversely, attempt to locate the *Sanguine* antenna system so as to lengthen the attacking SLBM's flight time. A check of any map of the US will show that the choice of east central Texas in this context is quite illogical. Alternate sites proposed for *Sanguine*, in Michigan, Colorado or Wisconsin, are farther from the sea and hence would extend the attacking missile's flight time. The vulnerability of the Texas site will not improve with time. US officials have already predicted that the USSR will eventually deploy a depressed trajectory SLBM. This flattening of the missile's path over that utilized in today's models can only further reduce the warning time for an SLBM attack that could be launched on *Sanguine* from the Gulf of Mexico.

The navy claims that, due to a combination of dispersion, burial and hardening, *Sanguine* will survive a nuclear attack. Most Soviet SLBMs carry one-megaton nuclear warheads which, if programmed to penetrate underground to a depth of 50 feet before exploding, would create a crater 300 feet deep and 1400 feet across. The underground burst would, further, initiate a shock wave in the earth. Damage to buried structures would be caused by a combination of direct ground shock and shock induced in the ground by air blast. These effects can extend to distances many times the radius of the crater. The capability of the USSR to blast *Sanguine* will indeed improve significantly once they deploy MIRVs (multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles) for their SLBMs. Even if the Soviets only equal Poseidon's capacity of 10 individual warheads per missile, they will increase the number of transmitters that can be targeted by this factor of 10. While it is true that these MIRV warheads are smaller (50 kt.) they will still be adequate to reach and destroy the transmitters.

If pushed hard on this delicate question of *Sanguine*'s survivability, navy spokesmen can always come up with the prediction made at the Senate committee hearings: ". . . it is unlikely the enemy would choose to attack it."

Another argument used by the navy to justify *Sanguine* is that it will make our retaliatory posture more credible by guaranteeing that even if attacked, the US could always launch its Polaris, Poseidon and ULMS missiles. This credibility is certainly desirable, but the USSR could argue quite reasonably and logically that *Sanguine* can best be used to direct US missile submarines into position for a first strike on the Soviet Union. Such a coordinated attack is difficult if not impossible for our present short-range radio systems. *Sanguine* could subsequently be used to coordinate US attack submarines in an attempt to destroy Soviet missile submarines.

Sanguine, in sum, is not essential unless the US is planning a first strike. It appears more likely intended as a tactical system for alerting attack submarines in a conventional war. But since existing communications systems appear quite adequate for this purpose, *Sanguine*'s tactical value is marginal at best.

Richard D. English & Dan I. Bolef

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The Nixon Watch

Working It Out

In late September and early October, when the President and his principal associates appeared to have persuaded themselves that he was going to survive the scandals that continued to beset him and Vice President Agnew was saying that he would never resign and that the charges against him were "damned lies," the atmosphere at the Nixon White House was a strange mix of confidence and of a quantity that was close to but not quite despair. The confidence arose in part from signs that the Senate Watergate committee's investigation was petering out and that the country in any event was bored with Watergate and all that it connoted; in part from a realization that a President, no matter how beleaguered, who was as determined as Mr. Nixon clearly was to hold onto his office and to make a show of power and impregnability had enormous advantages that were likely to be proof against worse troubles than any that this President had yet experienced or been threatened with. Sadness, frustration, helplessness were among the words that I heard used at the White House to describe a countervailing sense that recovery from the depths to which the President and his staff establishment were reduced last April and May could never be complete. It was a sense, a fear, that the prolonged process of rumor, suspicion, allegation and evidence of wrongdoing would never end. It seemed to the assistants whose accounts and impressions are reflected here, and it must have

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seemed to the President, that there was always something new in print or in the air that had to be denied, ignored or minimized.

The something new when Spiro Agnew succumbed and quit was a report, derived originally from testimony in civil suits against and involving Howard Hughes, the billionaire recluse, that the President's wealthy friend and occasional benefactor, C. G. (Bebe) Rebozo, accepted $100,000 in two cash payments from hirelings of Hughes in 1969 and 1970. Although the money was supposed to have been contributed for political campaign purposes, the report had it that Rebozo kept the $100,000 in cash in safety deposit boxes until he decided to return it to Hughes this year. Investigators for the Senate Watergate committee, the Internal Revenue Service and special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox looked into the matter. Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren was constrained to say for Mr. Nixon at the White House that "the President personally did not receive any such money." Warren declined to answer when he was asked whether the President was sufficiently interested in the report to ask his friend Bebe about it and about sworn testimony in the civil suits that Hughes regarded the payments as contributions to Mr. Nixon for his political benefit. It was at the President's personal insistence and orders that White House accounts of the purchase of his California estate at San Clemente omitted for more than three years any reference to the important parts that Rebozo and a much wealthier Nixon friend, Robert Abplanalp, played in financing an acquisition that the President, according to his own account, could not have managed without their help. The Rebozo-Hughes transaction was particularly embarrassing because the disclosure of it coincided with official reference to a characteristic that Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew have in common. In a brutally detailed summary of the evidence of bribery, extortion and income tax evasion that federal prosecutors in Maryland were ready to bring against Agnew, the Department of Justice said that some of the government witnesses attributed his readiness to accept cash payoffs when he was a county executive and governor of Maryland to his belief "that his public position required him to adopt a standard of living beyond his means."

There was understandable reluctance at the White House to acknowledge the President's debt to the Senate Watergate committee and its staff. It was pleasanter and more heartening to put the apparent waning of the Watergate investigation down to weakness of the case against the President and his administration than it was to blame the committee's ineptitude. But one of the occasions for the revival of confidence around the President was in fact a demonstration of that ineptitude. The President personally congratulated and thanked Patrick Buchanan, a special consultant and one of the few true believers and (conservative) ideologues left on the Nixon staff of pragmatic doers and bumblers, upon his televised performance before the committee. Buchanan routed his interrogators with a hitherto unmatched display of bravado and cynicism. He also provided an opportunity, which the committee and its staff characteristically overlooked, to examine and challenge Mr. Nixon's basic assertion last April 30 that he could be as ignorant as he claimed to be of the outrages that were perpetrated in his behalf during his 1972 campaign for reelection because he had "to the maximum extent possible . . . sought to delegate campaign operations, to remove the day-to-day campaign decisions from the President's office and from the White House." When Buchanan was asked why campaign memoranda that he had written had been withheld from the committee on the ground that they were privileged presidential documents, he answered: ". . . I think that's not unreasonable in light of the fact that many of the memoranda are to the President of the United States. Many of the memoranda deal with recommendations for presidential action. Many of the memoranda were prepared at the direction of the President." Buchanan said later that his memos generally dealt with overall campaign strategy and didn't contradict the President's claim of detachment from campaign tactics. I continue to believe, however, though I cannot prove, that the persisting strain of unease and uncertainty at the White House arises in some part from unacknowledged awareness that the President's protective version of his campaign role is false and subject to exposure and disproof that would be disastrous for him.

It was in this atmosphere of mingled confidence and apprehension around the President that Spiro Agnew approached, fought off, backed away from and finally accepted a deal with his prospective prosecutors and, certainly in an ultimate and probably in a literal sense, with his President. At a press conference in Washington the day after Agnew resigned and, without pleading guilty, admitted his guilt in one instance of income tax evasion, Attorney General Elliot Richardson removed any cause for doubt that the President concluded last summer, after he learned that serious charges against his Vice President were in the making, that his—Mr. Nixon's—best interests would be served if he got rid of his Vice President. Richardson did this when he said that Fred Buzhardt, one of the President's White House lawyers, first asked the attorney general whether he was willing to work out a deal with the Vice President's lawyers and that, throughout the subsequent negotiations, Mr. Nixon approved "the general direction and the fundamental basis on which the matter was being handled." The President said on August 22 that he believed Agnew to be innocent of any wrongdoing after he became Vice President and on October 3 that "the charges . . . do not relate in any way to his activities as Vice President." This was true of the formal charges but not of

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the evidence that the Justice Department summarized and published on October 10. According to that evidence Vice President Agnew sought and accepted substantial cash sums from Maryland contractors after he was inaugurated in 1969. It was desperately important to the President, one gathers, that his Vice President be formally accused and convicted only of offenses that were committed before he became Richard Nixon's man.

Spiro Agnew, that valiant exponent of the work ethic and of Nixonian law and order, is in disgrace, gone from the administration, on probation for three years and liable to federal imprisonment during that period if he misbehaves. He has, as the attorney general said in justifying the negotiated deal, saved the Nixon presidency and the country from a rending time of prosecution and trial. The crushing record of extortion and welcomed bribes that the Justice Department summary of the evidence sets forth makes sorrow for Agnew impossible and the compassion that the attorney general recommends difficult. There will be cries—there were some at the attorney general's explanatory press conference—that the lenient treatment of Agnew demonstrates once again that the law is kinder to the powerful than it is to the weak. A fair judgment is that the country is well rid of a crooked Vice President and fortunate in being spared the agony of a criminal trial or impeachment proceeding. In the wake of Agnew's going a proper prayer is that the President who so dismally failed in 1968 and 1972 to offer the electorate a fit and qualified vice-presidential nominee comes up now with a successor who is fit to be President and who deserves the necessary approval of the House and Senate. For the choice, after all, we are dependent upon a President who until quite recently was asking some of his assistants how they rated the chances that he might be impeached and removed from office.

John Osborne

Unidentified News Sources and Their Motives

The Usable Press

by Walter Pincus

Who was *Time* magazine's "observer familiar with the investigation" of Spiro Agnew who described the government's case against the former Vice President? Who were *The Washington Post*'s "informed sources" that said the government would give "use immunity" to a former Agnew aide if he testified fully against his former boss? Who were *The Post*'s "informed sources" for the story on negotiations between the Justice Department and Agnew's lawyers? Who was *Post* reporter David Broder's "senior Republican figure strongly in Agnew's corner," who said the Vice President would soon resign? Who was CBS reporter Fred Graham's "source close to the investigation" who supplied the publicized quote allegedly made by Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen: "We've got the evidence: we've got it cold"? Who was *New York Times* vice president James Reston's source on Mr. Agnew's determination to fight and not resign and Agnew's belief "that it was common practice in Maryland and elsewhere to solicit campaign funds from contractors and to give government contracts to people who contributed to the party in power if they had the ability to do the job"? Who were *Times* columnist William Safire's sources for his description of the manner in which Petersen called in "a series of attorneys for a group of scared and possibly guilty men" in the Agnew case, and proceeded to "blackjack them" into talking while saying "repeatedly—that he already has an airtight case against Agnew"?

This is a selected sample of news items that have appeared over the past two months. They form in part the basis for the former Vice President's now-abandoned motion in court that he was being subjected to a "steady campaign of statements to the press which have no purpose and effect other than to prejudice any grand or petit jury." That motion and the effort to subpoena newsmen and require them to tell their sources was mischievous in several ways. But the one I wish to consider here is the way it and similar challenges to First Amendment rights divert us from frankly discussing a serious news coverage problem.

While I believe newsmen should—must—use confidential sources, I also think the time has come for journalism as a profession to come to grips with one fact—the press is being manipulated more and more

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by sources whose motives for providing sensational "facts" may be as newsworthy, even more newsworthy, than the information given. Newsmen, eager for scoops or wanting just to keep up with the competition, by design or through ignorance prefer to overlook the important question of *why* the information is being given them. Often the facts turn out to be correct—as they often did in the Agnew case. But the results of their publication become major elements in the story.

Accounts published in newspapers one day—whether true or false—help shape what happens thereafter. That is why "sources" try to mold news coverage to their advantage. Did *Time* magazine's "observer familiar with the [Agnew] investigation" worry that the matter might be dropped if the public did not know it? Once the word of the inquiry was out, it became impossible to drop it.

Did Broder's "senior Republican figure strongly in Agnew's corner" want to delay or prevent any resignation by the then Vice President? Publication of *that* story appeared to force Agnew to deny any such thoughts. Did the source of the Reston story—Mr. Agnew himself—use that interview to show President Nixon and the Justice Department how tough he could be in order to get the terms of any plea bargaining softened? We don't know, and even as wise and experienced a journalist as Reston may have been in no position to find out. But was Agnew using the interview and thus a journalist, or did he reverse his basic position on resigning within the following 10 days?

In the interest of fair reporting, the press it seems to me should consider including within stories based on confidential sources some guidance to readers as to *why* the information is being "leaked." "Why are you telling me this?" should be a reporter's question to such sources, along with "What do you have to say?" It used to be that, under such circumstances of confidentiality, checking out the accuracy of the information was enough before publishing it. But the point has been reached where the motive of the source in certain stories has equal news value.

Confidential informants have always been a rich mine for reporters, particularly on the Washington scene. Off the record interviews, where sources cannot be identified by name, are frequently employed. Often the motives of sources are apparent—a desire to curry favor with the journalist or his publication; a chance to show how well informed a person is; unhappiness with a government program, policy or political personality or a chance to promote one's own views. One of the hardest facts for journalists to accept in Washington is that confidential information almost never results simply in response to clever, questioning newsmen. Some of that occurs, but most often newsmen are told just what the source wants to see printed.

Reporting on the Watergate affair and the Agnew investigation has, however, highlighted another interest in divulging information to journalists—the interest of lawyers acting for their clients. John Dean sought immunity from prosecution, so stories from unnamed sources appeared giving bits of specific information Dean could provide prosecutors. Lawyers for other dubious characters were always available to answer newsmen's questions—often with "facts" about individuals other than their clients.

When Agnew voiced his direct criticism of Assistant Attorney General Petersen, lawyers for some individuals in the case began describing Petersen's prosecutorial tactics—material that turned up unattributed in columnist William Safire's *New York Times* column.

Electronics has revolutionized news coverage not only by radio and television but with the tape recorder and the paper copier. Economics of the publishing and radio-TV news business have forced a consolidation of newsgathering organizations at the very time that technical innovations have linked the country with an almost instantaneous news transmission belt. Fewer news organizations reach more people more quickly.

Complementing this consolidation and speed-up has been the rise of the public relations specialists. Operating inside and outside government, these men understand how the news business works and they use their expertise to shape the information given the press. More news these days comes from events—speeches, press conferences, briefings, reports, hearings, even demonstrations—staged for the benefit of the media, particularly television. Along with these public events, backgrounders, off-the-record interviews and other private affairs affect coverage.

Though the refinement of PR techniques is widely known and occasionally discussed within the newsgathering profession, little concern has been expressed about their effect on shaping the news. Pressures created by the Nixon administration and particularly former Vice President Agnew against "advocacy journalism" (which is equated with enterprise journalism by most of the media) have had the effect of limiting much of the reported news to public events, many of which are staged to gain that coverage. Watergate and the Agnew investigation appeared to be exceptions to that trend, but were they entirely?

The news media is an important element in government, more important than most journalists believe. Technology has expanded its impact and a whole public relations profession has grown up to manipulate it. The Watergate hearings showed that White House aides went as far as forging diplomatic cables in order (unsuccessfully it turned out) to plant a news story that would affect Catholic voters in the election. With this type of PR apparatus in being and similar tactics being practiced both in and out of government, isn't it time for the media to reexamine standards for journalistic performance? Making *why information is given* a regular part of a confidential source story would be one place to start.

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Don't Plan on a Home of Your Own

by David Sanford

In his housing message to Congress last month the President adopted as his own the objective of the 1949 Housing Act: "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." A decent home can be a rented apartment, but the American family's dream has been a home of its own, and that dream is fading not only among the poor but among middle-income families.

Mr. Nixon still believes in the single family, detached house, and his complex proposals are designed to make it possible for middle-income families to buy them. To make mortgage money available, the President would knock off the ceiling on mortgage rates under FHA and VA loan programs, allowing rates to fluctuate as conventional home loan rates do. He would increase the maximum loan permissible under the FHA program; it's now $33,000, not enough for the typical new house. He'd experiment with flexible repayment arrangements for federally insured loans; thus young families would make smaller payments during the first few years of homeownership and larger payments later when they could better afford them. And he'd throw a bone or two to banks and savings and loans to encourage them to increase mortgage lending.

What would be the effects of the President's proposal? First off, allowing FHA and VA rates to fluctuate freely will almost certainly push them up. Increasing the size of FHA loans will help people buy more expensive houses but it won't bring down construction costs and will do nothing for people who want the nearly extinct $20,000 house.

The portents are all bad for the would-be homeowner who is middle-class. From July to August housing starts declined six percent, to the lowest level in about two years. And with the number of new building permits issued also down in August, it appears that new housing construction (including apartments) is likely to continue its decline, some predict through mid-1974.

One reason that fewer houses will be built is that the federal government's anti-inflation, tight money policy has driven interest rates higher, the intended and actual result of which is to discourage borrowing. Savings and loan associations, traditionally the major source of home mortgage money, are losing deposits at a near-record rate. In August, the third worst month for the S&Ls ever, savings and loans lost more than one billion dollars in deposits, largely because you can get more for your money by putting it elsewhere. Although the drop is small in proportion to their assets (one billion dollars is only about one half of one percent of the total money on deposit in savings and loans), a drop in deposits means less money to lend, and what is available is being loaned at ever higher rates of interest and under increasingly restrictive terms. A *Wall Street Journal* survey in September found that mortgage rates had soared since July and that the most frequently encountered rates in states without usury laws limiting mortgage interest to eight percent are now nine and nine and one-half percent. In usury-law states (fewer than 23) it is almost impossible to get a conventional mortgage loan at all since eight percent is not currently an attractive rate of interest to lenders. In better times mortgage lenders have allowed borrowers to put up small down payments, as low as five percent of the purchase price of a house; today they commonly require 25 to 50 percent down payments, thus freezing out applicants who have no substantial savings. Or they are lending only to their own depositors. Add finally to the tale of woe the fact that construction costs and purchase prices have put a new house way beyond the reach of the average family. The Public Affairs Committee, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization in New York, estimates that the cost of homeownership "has risen by almost 92 percent in the last 20 years—more than any other major item in the cost of living." In the New York City area a new house on vacant land "cannot easily be built" for less than $30,000, and in some parts of the state a new house can't be found for less than $35,000 or $40,000. Nationally the median price of a new house rose 19 percent between May 1972 and May this year—from $27,000 to more than $32,000.

Houses will continue to be built; despite the August decline in housing starts, more than two million units will have been built this year. And loans will continue to be made even at the current usurious rates. But the family whose income is at or near the median for the US population can no longer plan on buying a new house.

The Bureau of the Census is about to put out an 856-page book full of charts and graphs based on a study of 26,000 buyers of single-family residential property between 1967 and early 1971. The data are interesting as history rather than for what they say about the market

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today. The median family income of the man who bought a house in the late '60s was $11,900. The Median Man paid from his savings 14 percent of the purchase price of his house as a down payment, borrowing the other 86 percent from a savings and loan or a bank, at seven percent interest. The house Median Man bought cost just under $19,000 and if he makes his mortgage payments on schedule he will have his loan paid off in a little more than 26 years, spending about 19 percent of his family's income on housing (principal and interest on the mortgage loan, real estate taxes, special assessments, homeowners insurance, utilities and such). That amounts to something approaching $200 a month for most of the rest of his productive life. According to the '70 census 61 percent of the 31 million single-family dwellings in the US are mortgaged. Today, of course, seven percent interest would be a bargain if it were available.

An uninformed buyer might not quibble over a two or three percentage point difference in mortgage interest—but only if he hadn't done his arithmetic. If one borrows $20,000 at eight percent for 30 years, monthly payments (principal and interest) will run just under $147. Over the whole 30-year life of the mortgage the borrower will pay back $52,848 for his $20,000 loan. Now if he takes out the same $20,000 loan at 10 percent, his payments will go up $28.80 a month to $175.60. Over 30 years that two percent difference in interest will cost him $10,368. The 10 percent loan will ultimately cost him $63,216. The difference in interest for a 30-year, $30,000 mortgage loan (between rates of eight and 10 percent) is $15,552. And for a $40,000 loan (same terms) the difference would be $20,736 over the life of the mortgage.

Senator McGovern last year estimated that a two percent increase in mortgage interest during the first Nixon term (from about six percent to about eight) had cost homebuyers $2.5 billion a year in interest payments, and would continue to do so throughout the lives of these high-interest mortgages. McGovern was distressed that the statutory ceiling on FHA mortgages had been allowed to rise from six and one-half percent to eight and one-half percent and that the tight money policy of the Federal Reserve Board, intended to "cool off" the economy, was sending interest rates up and up. Mr. Nixon, McGovern pointed out, had spurned Congress' 1969 attempt to reduce mortgage costs with a law giving the President authority to control interest rates and make more credit available to homebuyers. (Nixon signed the bill but has not used his authority to control interest rates.) In 1970 Congress passed legislation that would have provided seven percent mortgage loans to families with annual incomes in the range of $8000 to $12,000. But, McGovern charged, "despite its promise to fund the program, the Nixon administration refused to request a single penny."

The Census Bureau has calculated that as of 1971 about 21 percent of outstanding home mortgages had been financed under the FHA federally guaranteed loan program; 14 percent under VA. The rest were conventional loans (through banks, savings and loans, insurance companies, etc.). FHA and VA don't actually lend money; they insure the commercial lender against loss in the event the homebuyer defaults on his pay-

"Every American family has a right to a house like this, and I'm going to see that they get it!"

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ments. A purchaser can borrow up to $33,000 under FHA at an interest rate no higher than the maximum set by the government—currently eight and one-half percent. (It's been raised twice this year, the first time in August from seven to seven and three-quarters percent.) Commercial lenders are willing to make loans at these rates so long as the rates for conventional home loans not restrained by the government do not go above the FHA and VA maximums. When they do, lenders refuse to deal in VA and FHA loans because they aren't profitable enough or they charge "discount points." Points compensate the lender for the interest he loses when he grants an FHA loan. They are supposed to be paid by the seller rather than the buyer of a house. But in effect they are not. The seller compensates *himself* by jacking up the purchase price. Nobody likes the confusion and red tape involved in charging points; HUD doesn't and neither do lenders, who prefer to avoid FHA financing when points are involved. In recent months the field offices of the Department of Housing and Urban Development have reported difficulty in getting mortgagors to accept FHA and VA terms.

This past July Secretary of Housing and Urban Development James T. Lynn thought a lot of problems would be solved by raising the maximum interest chargeable on FHA and VA loans to seven and three-quarters percent. By upping the rate Lynn expected that lenders would no longer have to charge discount points to make up the difference in interest between FHA and conventional mortgage rates. And more homes would soon be available to homebuyers. Unfortunately for Lynn's argument mortgage interest has since continued to rise, forcing a further increase in permissible interest under FHA to eight and one-half percent. With interest rates now running over nine percent, lenders are still adding points to FHA loans. In some of the usury law states, FHA and VA loans are just about the only ones now available. And that is because several states that impose ceilings on mortgage interest exempt FHA and VA from the limitations. Thus in New York (which last week raised its limit from eight to eight and one-half percent) conventional loans in recent weeks have become less available, while FHA and VA loans have been made at an effective rate of nine and one-half percent (that is, eight and one-half percent plus points).

Also in July Lynn announced the suspension of the so-called Tandem plan, a complicated government program under which mortgage lenders were subsidized for granting loans at relatively low FHA and VA mortgage interest rates. It wouldn't be needed any more, Lynn thought, because FHA and conventional rates would now be about the same. By September, however, it was clear that HUD's predictions had been wrong. Conventional rates have continued to rise.

Strange schemes are being hatched to keep homebuilders in business. The *Wall Street Journal* found builders who are willing to lease homes to prospective buyers until loans (at no more than nine percent) can be found, or who will agree to adjust mortgage rates downward within the next three years if interest rates decline. Others suggest that families settle for a house trailer which, at $7000 and up, is more easily afforded than a house. About half a million new mobile homes will be produced this year.

Mr. Nixon's middle-class housing proposals, though they won't reduce construction costs or guarantee lower interest rates, should make more money available, thus throwing more buyers into the waiting arms of bankers. To encourage lenders Mr. Nixon authorized the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to make two and one-half billion dollars available to savings and loans for mortgage loans, to compensate for their declining deposits. And as an additional incentive he would establish tax credits for investors in residential mortgages. Finally he has revived the Tandem program, abandoned two months earlier, under which the government pays lenders the difference between the interest they can charge under FHA and VA loans and rates they can get from more profitable investments.

House Banking Committee chairman Wright Patman believes the Nixon package is designed to help the wrong people: first the financial institutions and second upper-middle-class homebuyers, at the expense of the lower middle class. Benet D. Gellman, House Banking Committee counsel, maintains that removing ceilings from FHA and VA interest rates guarantees that rates will rise, and that Congress would do better to *require* lending institutions to make mortgage money available to lower-middle-class families at low rates of interest. "You are not giving people access to credit by burdening them with an unbearable interest load," he says. Gellman would compel all banking institutions to put a set portion of their loan money into middle- and low-income mortgages. He also opposes raising the FHA loan limit beyond the current $33,000. FHA, he says, is supposed to help people who can't get conventional mortgages. Every time you raise that limit, more and more money is going into middle-income housing—$50,000 and $60,000 houses—and not into low-income housing. "The government," Gellman says, "shouldn't be in the middle-income housing business at all so long as people with earnings of $16,000 and $4000 or $5000 saved up for a downpayment can't get a loan to buy an $18,000 house." The fact is that housing costs and interest rates are pricing all but the most affluent families out of the market. When Gellman cites the case of the struggling family with some money in the bank and $16,000 in annual income he is talking not about the poor but about families with incomes well above the median. For the very poor home ownership is an impossibility. For the middle class it's the next thing to it.

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Stanley Kauffmann on theater

The Empty Space

Peter Brook, the English director, is best known in this country for his productions of *King Lear*, *Marat/Sade* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which have been widely discussed as unconventional but which are really among his more conventional activities of the last decade. He has been experimenting and probing in the time between his more "visible" works. In 1964 he helped found a Theater of Cruelty in London, inspired by the writings of Antonin Artaud, and for the last three years he has been the leader of a group, based in Paris, called the International Center for Theater Research. Brook was, earlier, one of the first to tell the West about the work of Jerzy Grotowski and his Laboratory Theater, to insist that Grotowski's work be seen outside Poland, for which we are all in his debt (*TNR*, January 3, '70). Brook's ICTR is unabashedly obligated to Grotowski's group for more than its name.

In 1971 the ICTR produced a work called *Orghast*, written in a new language devised by the poet Ted Hughes and performed in the ruined palace of Darius in Persepolis. In December 1972 Brook led the ICTR on a motor-caravan tour through Africa, south from Algiers in a great loop down through Nigeria and back, doing improvisatory shows spontaneously in towns and villages, on a carpet in marketplaces. Recently they spent eight weeks with El Teatro Campesino playing in California farm communities. They are now based for five weeks at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, working there and in parks roundabout.

I went to the academy to spend a morning at an open demonstration of the group's exercises, then returned in the evening for a performance. (A good many people also attended the afternoon demonstration as well, spent the whole day there.) We sat on low bleachers ranged around three sides of a huge room. When we entered for the demonstration 10 of the group were kneeling at the far end of the room chanting a song from a Noh drama, led by the one Japanese in the company. (Among them there are two blacks and François Marthouret, who was in Tanner's recent film *Le Retour d'Afrique.*) Then there was a short talk by Brook, an articulate and engaging man, explaining that what we were going to see was the process of "tuning up."

Accompanied by drum beats the group then went through a series of exercises familiar in outline, if not in specifics, to anyone who has read Grotowski or seen the Open Theater or any of the many performer-centered companies—movements and "games" designed to heighten and control physicality, the power and presence of the body. These were followed by vocal exercises designed to "realize" the voice, to make sound part of one's organism, not just something that is shoved out of the throat. Later the audience, mainly theater people and theater students, was asked to join in some vocal exercises.

What struck me most forcibly about these exercises was not that they were unoriginal, that Brook had devised nothing new; this was disappointing but not central. What bothered me was that after three years' work (and a reported million dollars of foundation funding), these performers had achieved such a small degree of physical and vocal control—stratospheres away from Grotowski's company. For all the air of adventure, for all the gnomic remarks by Brook at the beginning and subsequently, everything in all this work is also part of the accomplishment of the good traditional actor—which, again, is not true of Grotowski's company.

Well, I thought, proof of the pudding. I came back that evening to see a performance. (The afternoon, I'm told, was devoted to improvisations, some of them interesting.) The play is called *The Conference of the Birds* and is arranged from a 12th-century Persian poem—a series of episodes with accompanying music, interwoven by a narrator, like Story Theater. It has very little to do with birds and a great deal to do with glib mystic episode and spurious spiritual insight. At one point the narrator, a gigantic woman, says portentously: "I prayed to God to open the door for me to Him. A man passed by and said, 'You idiot, what makes you think the door is shut?'" An hour and 40 minutes of that sort of stuff would be suffocating even if performed by the greatest company of the ages.

The play obviously has a script and obviously also has opportunities for nightly improvisation. In the latter the company showed moderate invention and skill, related to what I had seen earlier in the day—particularly an episode of "birds" on a scaffold—but nothing equal to the sacerdotal air that the group surrounds itself with. The tone, if not the point, of the enterprise is in the very opening and the closing. At the start, a drink—tea, I suppose—is brewed on stage, then poured into two big bowls that are passed around to be shared by the audience. (Sitting in the back, I missed my sip.) At the end the narrator asked the audience to come up and join hands with the company in a large circle. Dozens did. I left, shocked by this Julian Beck-Judith Malina cheapness in a Brook group. Perhaps they are all still standing there, locked in a new community.

Brook, anxious for communion with audiences, has done what Beck and Malina and many others have done in the past 10 years, he has gone to the audience overtly. He doesn't want to entertain audiences, he wants to make partners of them. He thinks, with something more than justice, that our theater in general, produced by a sick society, is laugh-or-cry consumer fodder unrelated to the psychic and spiritual pollution of that society. But in his fully justified revulsion he has succumbed to a current

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Films Worth Seeing

American Graffiti. George Lucas probes and fixes adolescent culture of the '60s. Often goes through cliché to quintessence.

Bang the Drum Slowly. The baseball picture for those who do and don't like baseball. Good sentiment and humor, though inconclusive.

Last Tango in Paris. Despite what you've been led to think, the Brando-Schneider sex scenes are about a third of the picture. The first few of them are genuinely strong.

State of Siege. Costa-Gavras, who did Z, deals with the murder of a US official in Uruguay, 1970. Tendentious but gripping; or gripping but tendentious.

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The Single Self

Dorothy Richardson
by John Rosenberg

(Knopf; $6.95)

From her attic window 23-year-old Dorothy Richardson looked over the roofs of Bloomsbury—not yet the name of a literary coterie, for it would be eight years before Leslie Stephen's youngest daughter moved into Gordon Square. Yet her lodging-house "room of one's own" meant the same escape from the Victorian Home for the future author of *Pilgrimage*, the huge novel of female consciousness later compared with the writings of Virginia Woolf. Indeed her Bloomsbury flight in 1895 took her further, involved more radical renunciations. For one thing she had not had the famous £500 a year to float her free. There on the district's outer edge near the Euston Road, still remembered as "the hunting ground of garrotters," she began her lifelong acceptance of poverty and loneliness as the conditions of the new woman's life. She was paying her rent out of a pound a week earned as a dental assistant.

She too was a rebel child of the middle class, but not that secure élite—moneyed, educated, with alliances to the aristocracies of birth and culture—that had produced the Stephens and the Stracheys. Her father was a grocer's son who had grown up in the country town of Abingdon, seven miles and an infinite social distance from Oxford. As a young fellow he took to strolling over the fields to meet student friends and he probably heard Huxley refute Bishop Wilberforce that famous day in 1860. He wanted to be a gentleman of leisure and to cultivate his mind. Soon after his marriage he inherited his father's estate, and he abandoned the grocery business, invested his money and joined a London club as well as the British Association for the Advancement of Science. But his investments were imprudent and the family fortunes careened between prosperity and scrimping. The Richardsons moved now to a shabby seaside cottage, now to an imposing suburban villa where Dorothy and her sisters played tennis on their own sunken court. Eventually Richardson faced bankruptcy, the unforgivable sin against the religion of prosperity. Two of Dorothy's sisters managed to become engaged and one soon took a post as a governess; Dorothy, who had read *Villette*, got a job as a teacher in a German school.

She had been her father's favorite, called by him, in lieu of male offspring, his "son." As a small child she met his desire to change her sex by an unfeminine tendency to be "willfull and unmanageable": like Maggie Tulliver she tried to run away to the gypsies. She resembled her father—and was at war with him. She absorbed his religious skepticism and his taste for the arts, but she also desired to break free—as he had done—from the role prepared for her by society; she did not intend to be the usual middle-class married woman any more than he had wanted to be a grocer. She resented his "patronizing illusions" as she called them, about women, and his masculine reverence for "facts" and "ordered knowledge" while disdaining the intuitive and emotional, and she sympathized with her delicate, subordinated mother. Yet even then she might have walked unguardedly into the trap of a conventional marriage. Her father's failure gave her the right to set forth—like the son he had wanted—to earn her own living and make her own way. In Hanover she was shy and awkward with the German schoolgirls who so complacently looked forward to being hausfraus and worshipful spouses. She failed as a teacher and went home, convinced, as she later wrote, "that many of the evils besetting the world originate in the enclosed particularist home and in the institutions preparing women for such homes."

She succeeded teaching at a private school in North London and then as governess to the children of a prominent Q.C. But she was no happier—she hated the dullness, the confinement of the school, the parody of her own home simply raised a social degree in the lawyer and his wife. What she had liked best had been glimpses of the world outside these confines—London life seen from the bus window riding back and forth between home and the school, the view down streets she never entered as she went with her charges about the city. Then Dorothy was called home. Her mother's frail nature, tossed for years upon the waves of her husband's ventures, had foundered at last. She went with Dorothy to the seaside for the prescribed change of air, but left alone for an hour, she cut her throat with a kitchen knife. It was the end of family life for the girl; she may have thought that she had proved her incapacity by failing to save her mother. Henceforth her foot was set upon the path of the solitary. She saw herself as Bunyan's pilgrim, but hers was to be a modern pilgrimage, unsustained by any vision of the Heavenly City. The pilgrim was to carry with her her own goal, the ever-unfolding single self. Marriage she resisted until she reached the age of 44.

London at the turn of the century was stirring with the agitation for women's suffrage, socialism, anarchism and every variety of fad and faith. The true history of culture, could it be written, would take account of the obscure agitations of thousands of persons who feel in themselves unprecedented changes—out of these individual movements of soul comes the *appearance* of a current which sweeps across the mass. Dorothy Richardson's life was led mostly among nameless men and women—and not among such distinguished company as gathered at the home of Lady Ottoline Morrell, who was exactly her age. She made friends in the boardinghouses and cheap restaurants of her neighborhood who represented the ferment of the times no less than Lytton Strachey or D. H. Lawrence, or the Asquiths. There was for example the forgotten publisher Charles Daniel, who started *Crank: an Unconventional Magazine* and his author, Mary Everest Boole, who wrote that "only the mad are sane." There was Benjamin Grad, an impoverished Russian-Jewish Zionist who fell in love with Dorothy. There was Alan Odle, whom she eventually married, one of those doomed artists who have neither the genius that burns its way to the surface nor the ambition and stamina that brings talent to the fore. She herself nearly shared their fate of anonymity. Her first book, *Pointed Roofs*, was not written until she was 40, and the total work of which it was part not finished until she had reached the end of the exceptional grant of time afforded

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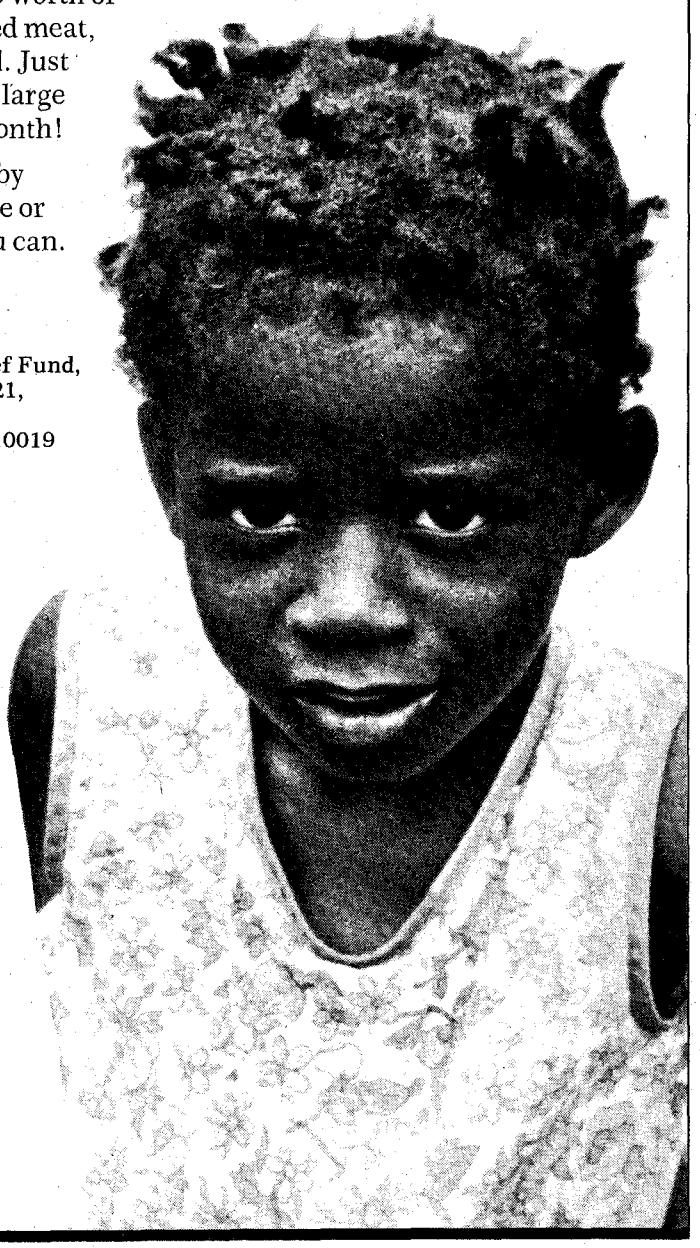

her, in her 84th year. Her genius had burned slowly, and only by good fortune reached the surface finally.

Even after her work gathered a certain fame, she avoided literary circles and had few prominent friends. H. G. Wells was the chief exception, and he had come into her life because she reencountered a school friend who had married him. She later described how, out of "the strange repellent mouth below the scraggy moustache, kept from weakness only by the perpetually hovering, disclaiming, ironic smile," came a stream of talk that fascinated her. Wells had put behind him a childhood more sordid than her own and an unsuccessful first marriage, and had published two novels. At the Wells' house she met writers and social reformers to whom he wittily enunciated his latest creed, scientific socialism. He also inveighed against the family more audaciously than she had ever dared to in her private thoughts, and he believed in free love. They became lovers, but she had no more wish than he for permanent involvement even when she became pregnant. They disagreed fundamentally—his scientific positivism reminded her of her father's; he was contemptuous of the subrational, "feminine" side of human nature. And she thought his attitude toward sex no less shallow and exploitive than that of the men who had already made love to her—her dentist-employer, Grad and others. Just at this time she developed an intenser friendship with a young woman. When Veronica was arrested during a suffragette march, Dorothy visited her in prison where the marchers had been locked up with criminals and, when they fasted, were being forcibly fed. It was after this prison visit that Dorothy miscarried Wells' child.

But Wells had done something for her. He had urged her to write and even told her that her novel would have to be a new thing—"all this he and she stuff" would have to go. In 1908 she began, belatedly, a literary career, publishing sketches and articles in the *Saturday Review* but also in the *Dental Record* where she put to use the long servitude in the dental office which now came to an end. Still she was earning no more at writing than she had at the dentist's—a pound a week. It was another four years before she tackled the novel she had been contemplating. But at last she discovered what she was to do—write her own history from the inside of consciousness. *Pointed Roofs* dealt with her days in the German school, and 12 suc-

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ceeding books were to represent in thin disguise her further experiences.

The novel produced confused reactions in 1915. Critics did not understand the method that was soon to be named "stream of consciousness" by May Sinclair who reviewed the initial three volumes together—this review was, in fact, the very first literary application of William James' famous phrase. The most positive reaction probably came from feminist readers who appreciated the story of an independent girl's struggle to find herself, and the moment-by-moment notation of feminine thought process. A few years afterward Virginia Woolf wrote, reviewing another of the volumes, "she has invented, or, if she has not invented, applied to her own uses, a sentence which we might call the psychological sentence of the feminine gender." This is not a comment on syntax, though it may seem to be—there is in fact an exaggerated neutrality, a primer-simple sexlessness in the shape of the Richardson sentence. What was peculiarly feminine about it however, in Mrs. Woolf's sense, was its way of "suspending the frailest particles, enveloping the vaguest shapes"—of reporting, that is, the shifting element that is the "feminine" side of consciousness as both she and Dorothy Richardson conceived it. The rediscovery of this feminine self was Virginia Woolf's chief enterprise, begun in the very same year as *Pointed Roofs* with her own first novel, *The Voyage Out*. Of course two other writers were demonstrating that an interest in inner being was not inevitably feminine—two years earlier Proust had published *Du Côté de Chez Swann* and the year before Joyce's *Portrait* had appeared.

Dorothy Richardson continued to write under conditions of austerity that remained unchanged. That she married Odle was something of an accident—he was dying of tuberculosis and alcoholism and she yielded to the pathos of his condition. But as a result of her ministrations she found that she had acquired a husband who would live on until 1947; unconsciously, perhaps, she had desired to save him in the place of the mother for whose loss she felt herself to blame—and she had regained the family relationship by doing so. The marriage produced no children and was as free as possible from the usual domestic solidities. It proved an enduring union of two waifs who clung to life on almost the same terms at the end as at the start, living in rented rooms in London or in ramshackle shacks taken off-season in Cornwall. Odle's income from his work was meager and hers from her novels nearly as pitiful. She was never free of the necessity of doing hack-work. She did translations—of such unliterary books, for example, as *Some Popular Foodstuffs Exposed* by a Dr. Paul Carton. Only once had she really wanted a translating assignment—when Proust's translator Scott-Moncrieff died, leaving *Le Temps Retrouvé* undone, she had asked for the job of putting into English the modern writer to whom she felt most kinship—but the commission was given to someone else.

Still, by the end of the '20s, eight volumes had followed *Pointed Roofs*. Some of the early reviews were perceptive—May Sinclair in *The Egoist*, Randolph Bourne and Babette Deutsch in *The Dial* and *The Nation*, and Philip Littell and Constance Rourke in this magazine were among the rare voices of intelligent praise. But her great contemporaries gave no greeting. Lawrence dismissed her—along with Joyce and Proust, of course—as demonstrating that the serious novel was becoming self-conscious and "senile." Joyce seems to have given no sign at all. Her female peers were grudging. Katherine Mansfield reviewed two of the volumes

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and concluded crisply that "everything being of equal importance to her, it is impossible that everything should not be of equal unimportance." Virginia Woolf also wrote two early reviews in which she took note, as we have seen, of the innovation of the Richardson method, yet objected, "we still find ourselves distressingly near the surface . . . we find ourselves in the dentist's room, in the street, in the lodging-house bedroom frequently and convincingly; but never, or only for a tantalizing second, in the reality that underlies these appearances." Just a few fellow writers sought her out—John Cowper Powys, who wrote an early essay of appreciation and, moved by her feminism, Violet Hunt and Bryher, who became her friends and left bequests in their wills which helped her to eke out the civil pension she received in her last years. When in 1938 Dent brought out *Pilgrimage*'s 12 volumes bound in four, it was, however, seen as a grand, cumulative achievement. "Prodigious and austere," said *T.L.S.* Ford Madox Ford declared that she was a "great" novelist, our "most distinguished exponent of English realism."

Ford also remarked that she was "the most abominably unknown contemporary writer." She found herself at 60 still striving to complete her *recherche*, but forced to put it aside to do the work that supported her own and her husband's modest lives. Though her name was known, her books would not sell. The Dent comprehensive proved an absolute failure—the royalty statement on it for 1939 showed a deficit of four pounds on an advance of 30! She had another volume still to write, but it was laid aside. Powys wrote, "I think your not being allowed by England to devote yourself to your own work is the greatest disgrace of our time. It makes me feel heart-sick, Dorothy, to think of your having to do all that pot-boiling instead of going on with the next chapter of Miriam." After Odle's death she lived on almost another 10 years—eccentric, solitary, independent—and poor.

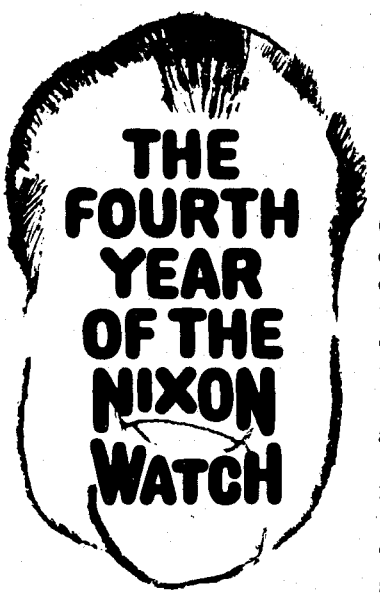
Virginia Woolf in *Three Guineas* had half-ironically called for a society of female "outsiders" who would make weapons out of the very conditions forced upon them, the unsought-for virtues of poverty, chastity, derision and "freedom from unreal loyalties"—meaning by poverty never implicating oneself further in society than by taking just enough money to live on, by chastity "refusing to sell your brains for money," by derision refusing all orders, degrees, regards, opportunities for self-advertisement, and by unreal loyalties religious pride, college pride, school pride, family pride, sex pride and those that spring from them, class pride and national pride. To this league—numbering hardly any among those who achieve something in literature—Dorothy belonged—an outsider by reason of poverty, a rebel from all loyalties to the established order, beginning with the loyalties of the family. She violated, perhaps, the injunction of chastity—she did sell her brains by writing cheap articles and doing translations—but only so that she might merely live; her serious work remained invulnerably unvendable. Above all, she honored Mrs. Woolf's derision—she steadfastly rejected all opportunities for self-advertisement; interviewers were almost always put off, inquiries for biographic information were ignored or answered roguishly, as when she replied to the request for a picture made by the editors of *The Little Review* by sending a snapshot of a young infant. *Who's Who* never gave her place or date of birth—and indeed these were unknown until at last Joseph Prescott, a professor at Wayne University, enlisted her help in the preparation of his article in the 1958 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

In one sense the readers of her novels have not needed to know anything about their author because they have Miriam Henderson, the self who is the chief character of her fiction. Dorothy Richardson seems to have wanted to survive only as this fictional self. The fact is that *Pilgrimage* ends just where her own real life began—when she married and when she began to write. It is not a biography but a *bildungsroman*, like *Sons and Lovers*. It is an essay in self-understanding by which a younger, discarded self is viewed, often ironically, by the matured artist.

As such it must be set against the real biography which we know in the case of Lawrence but have lacked for Dorothy Richardson. John Rosenberg's book is the first full-length account of her life, which utilizes information to be gleaned from about 600 letters, now in the Yale University Library, to and from various friends and relations, as well as conversations with surviving acquaintances. A scholarly article by Gloria Gliken drew attention to these resources 10 years ago, but since then there has been nothing except a study by Horace Gregory published in 1967, which made partial use of the information that was recoverable but relied more on the fic-

JOHN OSBORNE

"One of the most informative, fair-minded, fact-laden narratives of the administration," the *Washington Post* has said of John Osborne's *Nixon Watch* columns in *The New Republic*.



Osborne's wry, sagacious, and always judicious reporting has won him the admiration of his journalistic peers. "The most perceptive account we have," says *Newsweek*.

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tion. Mr. Rosenberg's own account seems slight when one considers the long span of its subject's life, and it is impossible to tell whether or not more might have been mined from the Yale papers or elsewhere. I rather suspect, however, that he has given us as much as can be told about a quiet history lived out of the limelight. We have, at any rate, enough to enable us to see how *Pilgrimage* grew out of its author's early reality. Analysis of the relationship between fact and fiction is rather strangely avoided by Mr. Rosenberg, who presents in separate chapters that make no comment upon each other the narrative of events gleaned from his biographic sources and plot summaries of the novels. The effect is of the story being told twice; we are left to discover for ourselves, by reading the fiction, that of course art never precisely retells life's tale.

Still Mr. Rosenberg has told Dorothy Richardson's life with grace and seeming justice, and one is very grateful to have his modest book. For he has acted just in time. It is exactly 100 years since his subject was born, and there is hardly anyone left alive who knew her well. Without his work we might have lost forever the sense one feels of a connection trembling like a wire between our own time and Dorothy's. Just now the young woman who began living alone in Bloomsbury in 1895 is both far and near. For just a little while longer we can perfectly understand her.

Millicent Bell

An Honest Memoir

Pentimento: A Book of Portraits
by Lillian Hellman

(Little, Brown; $7.95)

If we could dig up a formula for becoming a distinguished writer à la Hellman, it might go like this: Contrive to be born of Jewish parents in New Orleans so that race questions hit you hard and turn you into a social critic before you appreciate the meaning of the term. Read Balzac and Gautier while your schoolmates are getting a charge out of *Black Beauty, Five Little Peppers* and *Swiss Family Robinson.* Marry someone with the lively intelligence and practicality of Arthur Kober, press agent and long-distance runner in the arts who will introduce you to Broadway and Hollywood. Make a point of meeting someone like Dashiell Hammett, ex-Pinkerton detective and author of *The Maltese Falcon,* who is willing to coach you gratis in the principles of writing.

As a young girl L. H. began to keep a notebook and play with the thought of becoming a writer. She picked up uncommon words like "spatulate" and used them with uncommon dash, telling an avaricious great-aunt, "You have a spatulate face made to dig in the mud for money." A bit of the serpent's tooth in that? Maybe. But unlike many Americans today who dread a hassle Hellman has faced up to battle and on occasion gone in with trumpet blowing. Barely into her teens, she refused to let segregation rules daunt her, forced her colored nurse to sit up front in a streetcar, and lashed out at the conductor with a book bag when he ordered them to leave. Though she honors the work ethic, much wasted motion and emotion have marred her life, and what is most astonishing about her achievement is the patience at the core of her explosive temperament. When Hammett said "won't-do" she tore up her enthusiastic first draft of *The Little Foxes. The Autumn Garden,* a gentler treatment of fault-ridden human beings than *The Little Foxes* and probably the better for its amiability, went through a half-dozen revisions.

Her instinct for careful work has paid off in prestige as well as currency. Authoring only 14 plays, two of them adaptations, she has found a place among the foremost dramatists of the century. *An Unfinished Woman,* her autobiography, won a National Book Award and *Pentimento* should widen her reputation

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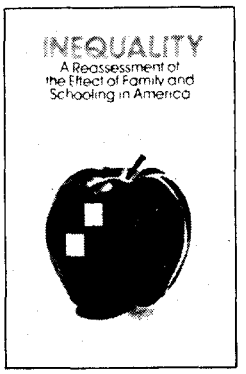

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as a storyteller. The earlier book covered sizable areas of her life with seven-league boots. In *Pentimento* she returns to some of those areas and does profiles of obscure people she knew (permitting herself a solitary exception in her chapter on "Theatre"), even throwing in a sketch of a reptilian hero who clung to life with a fury that would do credit to a two-legged hero. Writing of men and women she loved and who have in nearly all instances died, she tries to see them in perspective. Hence her title: an artist's term for a painting that was reworked but whose original details emerge as the paint thins out. The profiles don't go deep; cautious in her art, Hellman is wary about attributing motives or dabbling in conjectures. One character stands forth sharply from her pages however—L. H. herself. In short, apart from its readability, *Pentimento* is valuable as a picture of a woman and writer in the making.

Virginia Woolf once listed Shakespeare, Sterne, Coleridge, Lamb, Keats and Proust as androgynous authors, observing that in Proust the feminine element dominates. Hellman too is androgynous, with a strong turn toward the masculine. One night she chalked up a win of $21,000 at poker; on another night she dropped $23,000. She confesses to spells of heavy drinking while admitting that Hammett outshone her in this department. She likes fishing and hunting and in her profile of her great-uncle Willy she describes the oozy, slimy but somehow charming bayou country of Louisiana with the intimacy of the enraptured sportswoman. Criticizing in words of masculine brusqueness the probably frigid wife of Uncle Willy, Hellman notes (or imagines) "the ugly dryness of the breasts." And because she sees marriage as cruelly hampering—her own lasted but a year—she is especially taken with Bethe, subject of an absorbing profile. This handsome German-born cousin who was written off by her male relatives as a clod, found herself deserted by her rascally husband, became the mistress of a bootlegger and was apparently happy with him until the Mafia chopped him into pieces.

Uncle Willy was decades older than L. H. but she loved him for a season. Like Bethe, he was touched by scandal, having engaged men to kill in colonial exploits that involved one of the banana republics. Arthur W. A. Cowan, the eccentric subject of another profile, suffered a fate akin to Willy's, dying in an auto accident that had the overtones of suicide.

Writing of a past now remote from her, Hellman probably felt no embarrassment about rattling family skeletons. But in "Julia," a chapter that might have come out of Graham Greene had he believed in heroines, she rattles her own skeleton, so to speak. Julia was a childhood friend, incomparably beautiful according to Hellman, long on talent and short on the self-serving instinct. She studied at Oxford, earned a medical degree, became a pupil of Freud, and when Austria was gobbled up by the Nazis in the 1930s martyred herself saving Jews, Christians and other persons who had made Hitler's enemies list because they were committed simply and frankly to liberty. L. H. admits that she was attracted to Julia—at least during their schooldays—by a force probably stronger than friendship. Yet the devotion to Julia finally brought out Hellman's own capacity for heroism. Crossing by rail from France into Germany, endangered by her Jewish name and Jewish features, Hellman concealed $50,000 under her hat and passed it to her friend's co-workers. Julia, less fortunate in running the gauntlet of Nazi suspicion, was beaten and tortured. Going into hiding, she was once again rooted out by the Gestapo. Almost unrecognizable, her face and body slashed, she died among friends in England. The aftermath, in which Hellman pleaded with Julia's relatives to find the child the martyred woman had left behind her, furnishes a glimpse of human nature as repelling as any of the fuller-drawn portraits of the unspeakable Hubbards in *The Little Foxes*.

For all her sympathy Hellman puzzles over the values of today's young adults. And she is especially bemused by people like Jimsie, a black whose brilliance augured a notable career in chemistry and who coolly said goodby to it all when he holed up in a commune. Other days, other ways. The consequence is the nostalgia of a writer nearing 70, seeing most of her generation gone, recreating her brightest hours through imaginary conversations with Hammett (who died in 1961), and regretting the waste of a time when her energies fooled her into thinking she could be endlessly spendthrift with them.

Pentimento is an honest work and because honesty is one of the surest means of keeping a book from hopelessly dating, Hellman's two volumes of memoirs are likely to be read as long as her best plays.

James Walt

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Muckraking à la Mode

The Anderson Papers
by Jack Anderson, with George Clifford
(Random House; $6.95)

Kind and Usual Punishment: The Prison Business
by Jessica Mitford
(Knopf; $7.95)

Suddenly the call of the muckrakers is heard again in the land. These two books by reporters whose zeal predates Watergate represent two major—but very different—impulses in America's go-go muckraking industry.

Jack Anderson is currently the industry's major producer. Seven days a week, the muck rolls off his assembly line filled with juicy new evidence of government malfeasance and double-dealing. Indeed until Woodward and Bernstein of *The Washington Post* broke his hegemony last year Anderson had a virtual monopoly in the field. How would the history of the first Nixon administration have read if Anderson had not been there to break one incriminating scandal after another: ITT and Dita Beard, Bangladesh, FBI surveillance? Long before the current fad Anderson was doing the investigative reporting that most Washington correspondents should have been doing but weren't. For that he deserves our respect and gratitude.

As the title suggests Anderson's book is largely derived from the various documents xeroxed, passed in brown manila envelopes or otherwise leaked to the columnist and his associates during the Nixon years. Anderson is justly proud of this record. On the Dick Cavett show several years ago he boasted: "I have access to intelligence digests because people show them to us . . . some of the President's private memos, some of the transcripts of confidential minutes . . . two-thirds of the State of the Union Message two or three days before it was delivered." Anderson's bravado enraged the White House which put Jack Caulfield, one of its resident sleuths, on the case. In a 1971 memo to H. R. Haldeman, Caulfield concluded that Anderson's claims were justified: "Anderson does, indeed, have access to intelligence digests, and he proves it on a daily basis . . . It also appears his reference to private Presidential memoranda is valid." Proudly, Anderson prints the memorandum as a preface to his book.

Revealing secrets is Anderson's business, and in an administration that acts as if it were in a perpetual state of siege this is no mean talent. But just because something is hidden is no reason why it ought to be published. One gets the impression that Anderson would rather print secret porridge than public steak. There is a heavy dose of sensationalism in Anderson's reporting, perhaps inherited from his predecessor and longtime colleague in the column, Drew Pearson. Pearson was above all a journalistic showman, dazzling his audience with an exclusive interview, a new titillation, a juicy scandal every day. His performance brought him a raft of libel suits but also a wide-eyed following across the land which Anderson, since he inherited the column in 1969, has continued to delight.

Some of the stories he retells in the book were truly sensational—particularly the Dita Beard memo and the resulting ITT scandal which, on rereading here, seems of far greater import than many of the later Watergate revelations. But others now seem a great to-do about nothing—notably the interminable account of Les Whitten's joust with the FBI over a pile of routine documents from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And Anderson's tortuous justifications for his gross mishandling of the Eagleton drinking story last year—like his puzzling refusal to retract the story for days when he clearly had no evidence to support it—merely underline the dangers inherent in his frantic quest for the

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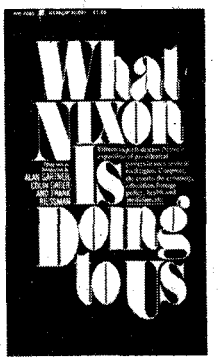

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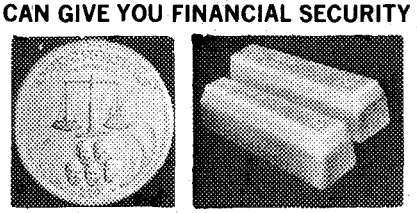

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sensational.

Anderson fails to fit the transgressions he reports into any broad social analysis, despite a few rhetorical generalizations at the close. Like the Mormon missionary he once was, he is fundamentally a moralist whose proper subject is bad men and evil deeds. This allows him to see American society and its institutions as essentially benign. In a mid-August column entitled "The Muckraker's Mission" he wrote:

> . . . he [the muckraker] comes to know in his bones that though an individual politician or a government agency be his adversary the American system is his friend. There is one thing comforting about the nature of crime—its particularity. A Lee Harvey Oswald or a William Calley or a Charles Manson is not representative of a society or an army or a generation . . . among the affluent and the privileged, crimes are committed by culpable individuals, calculatingly and for identifiable motives . . . when I see this nation scourging itself because it must have the truth, I must rise from my wallowings to say and urge others to say "I love America."

If Anderson flails individual corruption but hymns the wonders of America, Jessica Mitford subsumes personal peccadillos to the utter depravity of the System. In one respect they faced similar tasks. For few institutions could be more sealed from public scrutiny than the Nixon administration and the American prison system. "I soon discovered," Mitford writes, "that prison walls are meant not only to keep convicts in, but to keep the would-be investigator out."

Mitford did not launch a frontal assault on the forbidding walls. So far as one can tell from the book she spent only one significant period in a prison: a day and a night in the District of Columbia Women's Detention Center as part of a Crime and Corrections Workshop sponsored by the National College of State Trial Judges. She rode a paddy wagon, briefly shared a cell with a pickpocket and took her turn before a disciplinary board—all part of a carefully controlled experiment, at best a prissy imitation of prison life.

Like Anderson she relied partly on the inside "informer." Mitford acknowledges her gratitude to "a hundred prisoners in penitentiaries across the country who, at great risk and cost to themselves, have corresponded with me for the past three years, furnishing information I could not possibly have obtained otherwise."

She has drawn most heavily on published sources, poring through everything from the proceedings of the American Correctional Association to the hearings of the House Select Committee on Crime. This has produced some rich material, but it also gives the book an unfortunate secondhand quality, curiously abstract and remote from the clang and damp of prison life.

Unlike Anderson Mitford resists the temptation to focus on the sensational. It would have been all too easy, for the American prison system of late has been a continuing horror show: riots and uprisings in many penitentiaries culminating in the massacre at Attica, mass graves of murdered convicts uncovered in Arkansas, gang rapes of young prisoners in Philadelphia, the slavery of Southern road gangs, gross conditions in local jails.

But Mitford says, she "decided to forego these pockets of iniquity and instead to travel the broad highway of prison reform, to look mainly at those large, well-ordered, highly financed prison systems that have incorporated as their stated policy reforms fought for over the decades." This procedure was infinitely more difficult. It meant dealing with material that is scarcely the stuff of high prison drama: finance, bookkeeping, the indeterminate sentence, employment, parole—in other words the workaday world of prison administration and policy-making.

Nonetheless there is some chilling material here, particularly the chapter called "Cheaper than Chimpanzees," in which Mitford carefully documents how prison authorities cooperate with the major pharmaceutical companies to provide prisoners for bargain-rate testing of new drugs. She tells of one experiment in which scurvy was artificially induced in five inmates of the Iowa State Penitentiary: "All five subjects suffered joint pains, swelling of the legs, dental cavities, recurrent loss of new dental fillings, excessive loss of hair, hemorrhages in the skin and whites of the eyes, excess fluid in the joint spaces, shortness of breath, scaly skin, mental depression and abnormalities in emotional responses."

Generally eschewing such cheap effects, Mitford is after bigger game—what she succinctly calls "The Prison Business." She shows us how the reform movements of the past century have not truly ameliorated the conditions in American prisons but have only strengthened the system which is built on the misery and exploitation of the prisoner. Mitford does not attack poor food and unsanitary conditions, not even psychological degradation or physical abuse, but the prison system itself, the very concept of long-term incarceration which, she demonstrates, is a relatively recent American idea.

Much of her argument is indeed convincing. Certainly few will argue with her contention that long prison terms do not prevent criminal behavior but actually have the opposite effect. She marshalls compelling figures from Florida where the state released 1252 indigent prisoners who had been tried and convicted without counsel. A study of these early releases compared their recidivism with an equal number of prisoners who served full terms. The startling result: some two years after their discharge, 25 percent of the full-term releases had returned to criminal activity compared with 13.6 percent of the early-release group.

What are we to do with the 10 to 25 percent of the prison population who even the most enlightened of correctional officials consider too dangerous to let loose on society? Mitford declines to grapple with this question or with the problem of alternatives to incarceration. After nearly 300 pages of tightly reasoned and carefully observed reportage she simply leaps over the remaining obstacles to her sweeping conclusion that "the prison system, inherently unjust and inhumane, is the ultimate expression of injustice and inhumanity in the society at large" and must therefore be abolished root and branch.

Ultimately Mitford's muckraking transcends mere data. After spurning cheap thrills along the way, she cannot resist a final jump to the apocalyptic solution.

J. Anthony Lukas

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

MILLICENT BELL *is author of* Edith Wharton and Henry James *(Braziller) and professor of English at Boston University.* JAMES WALT *teaches English at the University of Maryland.* J. ANTHONY LUKAS *is correspondent to* The New York Times *and author of* Don't Shoot—We Are Your Children *(Random House).*

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Fine Print

Doris Grumbach

Nowhere is the knowledge explosion more disturbing than in the great research libraries of the world. The NY Public Library, the British Museum, the states' research libraries (New York's in Albany is typical) and now the Library of Congress, all suffer from the same growing pains: lack of space, overcrowding of both book and administrative-office areas and protests from scholars that they are being crowded out of their essential work areas to make way for staff.

The Library of Congress is one of the nation's glories, a magnificent building embodying in its architecture a reverence for the enormous resources it houses and displays so well when it can, given the limitations upon its space and staff. Now it is in the process of adding a third building to ease the strains on its present space. Meanwhile a tempest is brewing within its walls and in the hearing room of the House of Representatives. Research scholars claim that the LC is planning to push them out of the Thomas Jefferson Reading Room to make office space, at least temporarily, for the Congressional Research Service, a recently burgeoning staff (200 more in the last year) who take care of inquiries from congressmen.

The problems here are endemic to all libraries, with a few notable additions for LC. It has never been determined whether the LC is indeed what it was established to be, a research resource serving the Congress, or what it has grown to be, a great national library serving scholars of the world by virtue of the uniqueness of its collections, many of them (the Huntington is an example) clearly designed and donated for the purposes of the public's use.

It seems clear that these claims upon LC space and facilities will not be resolved until this schizophrenic nature is recognized and provided for. In the national interest and for the thousands of visitors each year to the Capital it is sad that the magnificence of the structure itself is being threatened. A George Washington University professor testifying last week before the House subcommittee on library and memorials pleaded for the preservation of the 50-foot ceilinged "grand chamber of the Reading Room" for public viewing and for the use of scholars and readers. The chairman, Congressman Lucien Nedzi, and the only other member of the 10-man committee present at the hearing, Congressman Gaydos, promised to look further into the matter and urged librarian L. Quincy Mumford "to bring more of your problems to the committee."

Has it been sufficiently noted by serious readers of fiction that Arthur A. Cohen, in his new novel *In The Days of Simon Stern* (Random House) has done better than any novelist of our time (Potok, Malamud, Weisel, etc.) with material that appears at first to be familiar, even shopworn? He has written a superb book about the Jewish ghetto in New York during the first half of the 20th century and at the same time about the Nazi horrors against the Jews in Europe. To do the book justice one cannot summarize it or even mention it in passing, but I will: it is a mythic odyssey, intellectual, historic, documentary of Simon Stern Jew who told by his father he is the Messiah, believes it. Moving close to Christian (and other) myth, its texture is so rich in its provision of every facet of Jewish culture and thought that the story, fine as it is, serves merely as catafalque for an absorbing and powerful series of—meditations?—yes, meditations, on life and death, humanity and God, survival and destruction, worship, money, suffering. If this novel has got by you, I urge you to catch up with it.

I, like every other reader whose tastes were formed in the '30s, have a long affection for the work of Thornton Wilder, for the emotion-stirring pages of *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and *Our Town*, for the curiously evocative appeal of *The Woman of Andros* and *The Cabala*. His new work, *Theophilus North* (Harper & Row), is as old-fashioned in language and content as a contemporary novel can be, but then it has the excuse of being about Newport, RI in 1926; its hero recalls his young manhood in that city which, like Troy, is really nine cities and therefore the occasion of nine separate narratives. The book is a picaresque novel, tiresome in many places as long journeys often are, yet here and there you find touches of the old Wilder. This is an old man remembering a time and a place in the formal, stylized outdated manner of old men, but still at times worth listening to. At the end Wilder claims that "memory and imagination combined . . . can write a book." True, but they cannot guarantee convincing verisimilitude which is often absent in *Theophilus North*.

The Feminist Press continues its good offerings, most recently with Megan Terry's play, *Approaching Simone*, about the French philosopher (and some say, saint) Simone Weil. Terry tends to make dramatic (as indeed she was compelled to by the medium) only the high points of that enormously complex woman's life and thought, making it more a biographical than theatrical work but still interesting and worth reading.

I have reread *The Truth About Kent State* (Peter Davies, published by Farrar, Straus & Giroux), feeling more depressed at second sight than when I saw it in galleys without the additional horror of its 74 photographs. Davies' reportorial prose is impressive without the pictures, however, and documents well one of the most lamentable by-products of Spiro Agnew's words in April 1970: "One modest suggestion for my friends in the academic community: the next time a mob of students . . . starts pitching bricks and rocks at the Student Union—just imagine they are wearing brown shirts or white sheets and act accordingly."

Another rewarding rereading: Indiana University Press' reissue of Leon Edel's *Literary Biography*, first published in 1959 and a first-rate statement of the position that "the close reading of the text is the beginning of all literary study; but it is not the end of it." Edel has proved his point with his massive work on Henry James, but this small statement of policy is interesting as well for a critical gem imbedded in it, a study of Thomas Gray and the sense in which biography enters into a reading of the "Elegy." Arguable, I suppose, but it would be difficult.

Note, finally, Allen Wheelis' *How People Change* (Harper & Row), a simply written, direct, unjargoned analysis of analysis and therapy, strongly self-directive and not for the lean-on-me-I'll-help-you believer or practitioner. Better than most lengthy texts in the field, readable for one thing, not pedantic for another.

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Correspondence

Williams-Javits Bill

Sirs:

May I respectfully suggest that in your September 29 note, "Keeping Your Pension," you don't know what you're talking about. In the first place, private pension plans do not cover 30 million employees but only 23 million.

S.4, the Williams-Javits bill, does two things for expanding pension coverage—it allows uncovered employees to make their own contributions (up to $1500 a year) to tax-favored savings and it triples the amount the self-employed can sock away in tax-favored plans. These provisions will spread coverage only slightly—and then only to those comfortably fixed. Meanwhile the measure is so complicated that the costs of starting and operating a plan will go up, thereby making it even more impossible for small companies to cover its employees. In contrast, I advocated a national pension plan, to be offered under private auspices, that would provide cheap, uniform, reliable coverage at costs within general reach.

On vesting, the bill means only a very slight improvement over the current situation. It ostensibly requires vesting to begin after an employee aged at least 30 has had five years of service under one plan, growing by five percent each year thereafter to 50 percent vesting after 10 years service and then by annual 10 percent increments to 100 percent after 15 years service.

Most single employer plans already provide for 100 percent vesting after 10 or 15 years. A Senate Labor Committee study showed that of the employees separated from jobs under plans with 15-year vesting, 92 percent achieved no eligibility for benefits; for those separated from plans with 10-year vesting, 78 percent had no benefit eligibility. S.4, if enacted, would salvage some of these losses, but not much. Observe. An employee separated after five years service under a typical blue-collar plan that pays $5 a month per year of service would be "vested" for a benefit of $6.25 a month—or $75 a year! A white-collar worker making $10,000 a year would obtain a vested benefit under a typical plan of $250 a year! Those amounts, payable years after separation, would be seriously eroded by inflation. The 5-15 year vesting will be about useless to women workers who typically work shorter periods for one employer than men. Also, the supposedly required vesting goes into effect only three years after enactment and then can be delayed another five years—that turns five-year vesting into 13-year vesting. The decision to delay is to be made by the secretary of Labor, whereas the original Javits bill put administrative authority in a new, independent commission. The Labor Department is, alas, all too prone to indulge union officialdom (*viz*, the ho-hum enforcement of Landrum-Griffin, which reached scandalous proportions with the old UMW) and many of the big unions don't want vesting in their plans. As S.4 emerged from the Labor Committee applications for delays in applying the measure's vesting and funding requirements had to be made on notice to employees. That requirement was quietly dropped in the "compromise" bill that passed the Senate to your delight.

You assert—echoing Senator Javits and his highly capable counsel, Mike Gordon—that reformers like Nader and me almost killed the bill, along with right-wing detractors. Where were you when the Morgan Guaranty Bank endorsed S.4's kind of form? (Why not, its limp fiduciary standard was drafted, the public hearings show, by the American Bankers Association.) As you note, the bill was "so popular" it passed 93-0. That tells me that there were at least 31 votes to spare that could have been traded for more extensive reform.

Merton C. Bernstein
The Ohio State University

In reply:

Senator Javits' staff estimates that the number of people covered by private pension plans is higher than 30 million and may run as high as 35 million, based on statistics collected by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission. On the question of vesting, it is true that most employer plans provide complete vesting after 10 or 15 years, but they also have high age requirements, meaning in many cases that employees can't join a retirement plan until they are 45 or 50 years old. The Senate pension bill would require that employees be let in starting at age 30. The "limp fiduciary standard" Mr. Bernstein mentions is the same formula used by the SEC in dealing with insider trading on the stock market. It prohibits all apparent conflict-of-interest transactions by trustees of pension funds, but avoids inflexibility by allowing the secretaries of HEW and the Labor Department to grant waivers in special cases when other safeguards are provided. This is the first time the federal government has ventured to regulate pensions, and standards can be improved after the system has been tested. That the generous vesting Mr. Bernstein advocates was not feasible is evidenced by the Senate's rejection, 85-9, of Senator Hartke's amendment to set full vesting at five years. —*The Editors*

Errata

Sirs:

There is a mistake in my review of Daniel Bell's book, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (*TNR*, Sept. 15 and Sept. 22). I said that Bell's earlier book, *The End of Ideology*, was implicitly a defense of technocracy, the rule of experts. Bell hotly denies this, and, on re-reading the book, I am inclined to think he has a point. There are whiffs of social scientism in the book, but Bell was clear in the past about the importance of politics. Unlike other end-of-ideologues then, Bell was not a technocrat, and he understood the need for political control of the economy—although he was as vague in the past as to how this should be done as he is in *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*.

Joseph Featherstone

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

common fallacy: that the way to break through to the audience is to talk to them, to approach them physically, to mingle with them. Only very rarely has this method had more than a merely physical effect. In the best work of Joseph Chaikin with the Open Theater, even in rare peak moments of the Living Theater under Beck-Malina, the fracture of traditional performer-audience "roles" has made a union like that of the traditional theater at its best. But virtually nowhere in that Brooklyn day did Peter Brook show that he had the right talent for this untraditional work. He has miscast himself. His best productions have been those, like the ones named above, that made the *theater* move with adventure; he has no apparent gift for taking the theater *outside* the theater. All through the Brook evening I got sad reminders of Jean-Louis Bar-

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rault, a splendid actor-director, with his production of *Rabelais* a few years ago, a free-form affair in which he tried desperately to "swing."

But there is a larger issue beneath the specifics of Brook's failure with the ICTR—the issue of elitism.

Unquestionably the theater of the Western world is elitist. Ever since Athens the theater has existed for a relatively small proportion of any country's population, either by reason of class or money or simple lack of physical availability in most parts of any country. Brook's travels to African villages and Chicano communities and Bedford-Stuyvesant parks is, quite apart from its content, an effort to break the theater out of its elitism, to take it across physical chasms, as well as socioeconomic ones. I believe that such efforts, full of instant gratifications, are delusory and eventually harmful to the very institution he means to revivify.

The primary purpose of the theater, as of any art, is to be the best it can be. And the plain fact—not snobby but experiential—is that the public for the best art is usually small. For an artist of Brook's refinement to revolt against numerical limitation and bourgeois consumerism by sentimentally debasing his work is to strike a blow at the very art for whose sake he has been disgusted. Society should provide every possible means, educational and economic, to make every person a potential member of the theater audience; that is democracy. But within that society the theater should do everything it can to be as aspiring and profound as possible; that is art. Brook, like others before him, has confused the political issue of equality with the esthetic issue of quality.

Brook reports, in *The Drama Review* (Sept. 1973), his happy reception in those Nigerian villages. Recently I saw a helicopter shot on TV of hundreds of thousands of Koreans cheering Billy Graham. Does Brook think he can compete with this? More to the point, in terms of effect, does he think that Graham's "crusade" made Korea a truly Christian country? Or if communal fun and pleasant memories are what it's all about, why not send Graham to those Nigerian villages instead of the ICTR?

The matter was fixed for me by the sight of James Earl Jones in that Brooklyn audience. I remembered Jones and Ruby Dee and Zakes Mokae in Fugard's *Boesman and Lena* (*TNR*, July 25, '70), and I'm convinced that their wonderful performances in a magnificent play

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contained infinitely more communion and exaltation than all the facile embracing and mysticism that was going on this evening. I'm not at all sure that a Nigerian villager (allowing for language) would respond to *Boesman*. I *am* sure, in my bones, that *Boesman* had an incomparably greater effect on its audience than ICTR had on its villagers. It is risky to apply a utilitarian standard, but I would venture further that theater at the *Boesman* level will do more for the betterment of society than communal noisemaking and drink-sharing. The latter improves society about as deeply and lastingly as Billy Graham does. (One of his best friends is President Nixon!) But as for *Boesman*, I know for myself – as some others know for themselves – that I am in some degree different because I saw it.

It is the fate of the theater to be elitist. The task is not to trifle with that fate, to fiddle with it ashamedly because of society's corruption, but to fulfill it as finely as possible. This is a task in which Grotowski, whom Brook so rightly admires, has never faltered; in fact Grotowski has been slated because his productions – coming from a Communist country, too! – are elitist. And he keeps on doing them, aiming for the deepest, not the most.

Brook says he has not turned his back on the theater as he used to practice it and will eventually return to it. Soon, I hope. Five years ago he published an interesting book called *The Empty Space* in which he said he could take any empty space, call it a bare stage, have people walk across it and engage an audience. In essence that's what he tried in Brooklyn but, in this case, the space remained empty.

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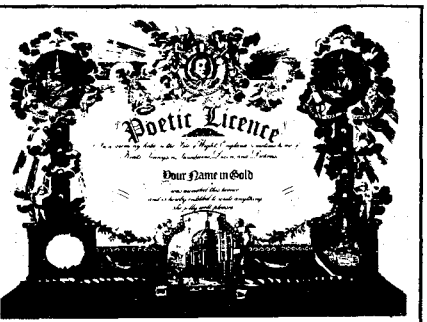

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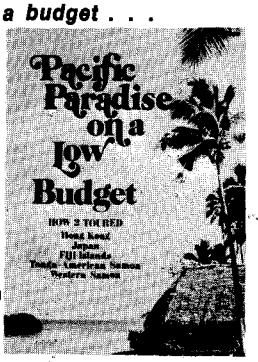

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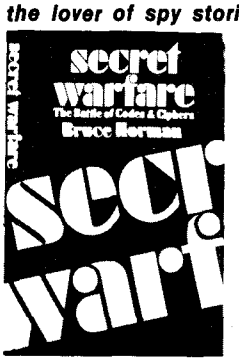

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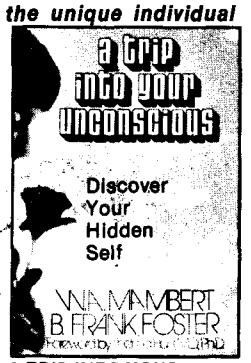

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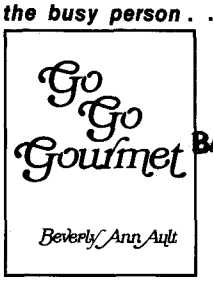

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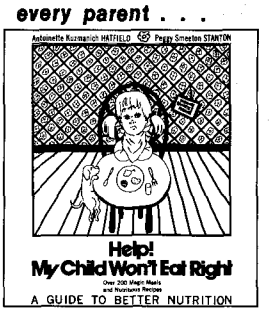

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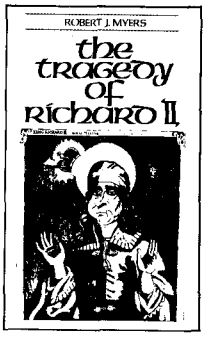

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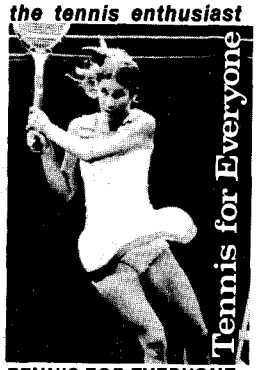

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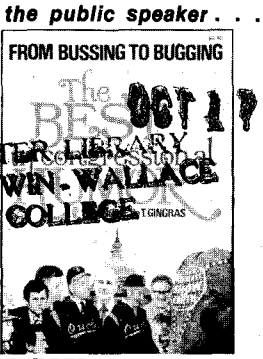

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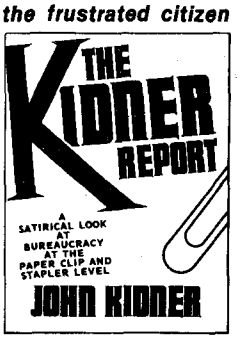

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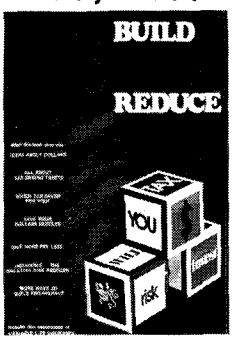

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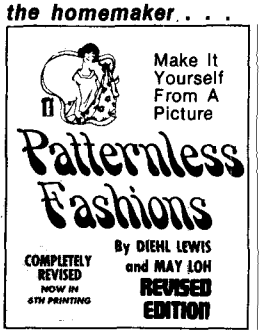
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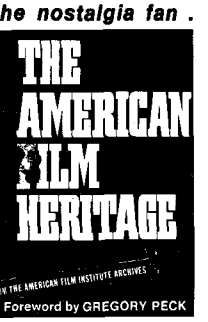

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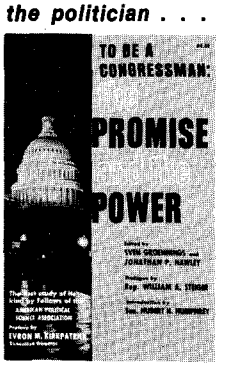

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